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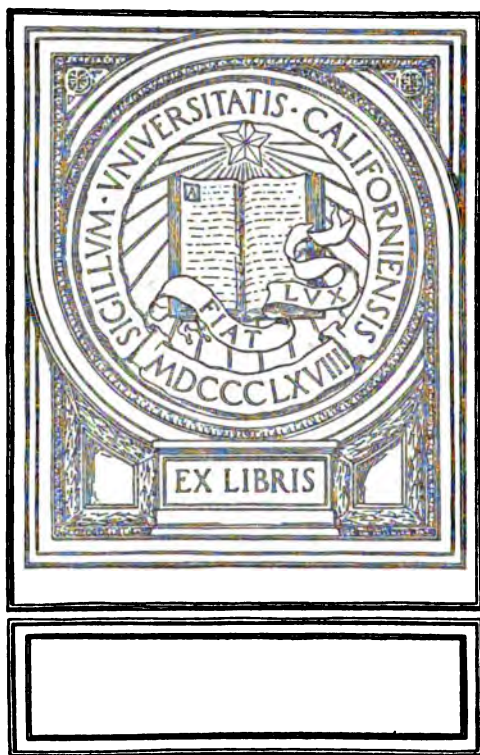
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**MARIETTA COLLEGE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS**

**EDITED BY
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT**

VOLUME III

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OHIO COMPANY SERIES

VOLUME III

**OHIO IN THE TIME OF
THE CONFEDERATION**

OHIO IN THE TIME OF THE CONFEDERATION

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

Professor of American History, Marietta College; Chairman Marietta
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INTRODUCTION

A Territory in the Making

This volume, chronologically, should have been the first in the present Series. There was a propriety, however, in permitting the original records of the Ohio Company to have the right of way, as being the most important and significant document to be issued under these auspices.

The purpose of this book is to fill a want, felt by the editor and many colleagues who conduct classes on the history of the West, in the shape of a volume giving the documentary materials in convenient form which any class or reader must study in order to understand the ideas and ideals which slowly crystallized into our first Territory—the “Territory North West of the River Ohio.” This growth is not sensed by a study of the ordinances and land laws of 1784, 1785, and 1787 alone, even when supplemented by the excellent writings of Adams, Hinsdale, Turner, Alden, Alvord, Barrett, Treat, or Thwaites and Kellogg. In order to make the volume fully serve the time-saving purpose suggested, the editor has been emboldened to devote a number of pages to reprints of documents not easily to be secured in the average library and not always

orderly arranged in the students' perspective when once in hand.

Following the pages of reprints of theories and plans of trans-Ohio colonization and State-making, the reader will find the most important documents in the *Papers of the Continental Congress* which relate to the Ohio region in this pre-territorial period, mostly relating to Thomas Hutchins's activities in surveying the Seven Ranges, with tangible sidelights on the irrepressible character of the squatter movement across the Ohio River.

Taking a hint from the satisfaction expressed by many charter and sustaining members of the Commission in the value to the non-professional of an introduction which links the documents presented into an understandable whole, the editor will briefly sketch the story contained in the material here published. With it as a guide, student, as well as general reader, will find, it is hoped, a completer interest in the documents themselves. To succeed in this respect were better than to satisfy the formulæ of the scientific critic.

One might loosely describe the growth of the territory north and west of the Ohio River in terms of evolution, as sub-organic, organic, and super-organic. Of the middle and latter period many students have developed treatises, on the

ordinances, the creation of States, and the manifold problems of statehood. Of the nebulous primary era, we have had the international phases of territorial and land colonization projects made clearer by several writers, particularly Alden and Alvord. There is need and room for more adequate treatment of the purely American schemes and theories for the colonization and government of what is commonly known as the "Old Northwest." There is a double importance in emphasizing them because, while they show the aims and ideals of individuals and reflect the spirit of the times, they came to something—they created ordinances and founded Commonwealths. There is an Old Testament history of the West and a New Testament, and the break between the two was greater—measured in everything save years—than the biblical parallel will show. The documentary material of England's imperial designs relating to the West does not contain the seeds of the New Dispensation—the theories of Deane and Paine and Pelatiah Webster, of Bland, Putnam, Pickering, Howell, Washington, and Jefferson. The Quebec Act with its extension "of the same absolute rule" (as the author of the Declaration of Independence phrased it) was of Malachi; the plan of Deane's federated, self-governed State at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, is of St. Matthew.

It was for Silas Deane of Groton, Connecticut, secret agent for the Continental Congress in France, first to offer suggestions concerning the use of western territory as a national asset. Already, as outlined elsewhere,¹ Congress, in September, 1776, had made its offer of bounty lands to men and officers who would enlist in the service; while it is not so stated it is clear that in the back of their heads the members of the Congress contemplated fulfilling this promise by granting land in the "Old Northwest"—thus mortgaging for public benefit a conquest it was hoped their armies would make. In December of the same year Deane wrote the Secret Committee from Paris outlining the first definite plan to charge this war bill to western lands. The plan as herein outlined in detail,² called for the grant of a tract of twenty-five million acres at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, in the present State of Illinois, to a company of Americans and Euro-

¹ These *Collections*, i, xv; the act of Congress read: "That Congress make provision for granting lands, in the following proportions: to the officers and soldiers who shall so engage in the service, and continue therein to the close of the war, or until discharged by Congress, and to the representatives of such officers and soldiers as shall be slain by the enemy.

"Such lands to be provided by the United States, and whatever expense shall be necessary to procure such lands, the said expense shall be paid and borne by the states in the same proportion as the other expenses of the war, viz. To a colonel, 500 acres; to a lieutenant colonel, 450; to a major, 400; to a captain, 300; to a lieutenant, 200; to an ensign, 150; each non-commissioned officer and soldier, 100." — *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1906), v, 763.

² Doc. i.

peans. One-fifth of every "settlement" should be reserved by the Congress for sale by the national government; the company should engage to place a certain number of inhabitants on the land within seven years and regulate civil government, taking the advice of Congress in such measures, and thus "form a distinct State Confederated with and under the general regulations of the United States General of America." Deane estimated that a company could be formed in Europe with a capital stock of one hundred thousand pounds to establish the State on the Mississippi as outlined. The scheme is an interesting medley of ancient and modern ideas, the retaining of "one-fifth part of all lands, mines, etc." harking back to Columbus and Cabot, and the plan allowing "the company" to "form a distinct State" bespeaks the new constitutional era of a decade later, the clause permitting the inhabitants to have "a voice in Congress" as soon as they are "called on . . . to contribute" to public expenses is a plain putting in practice the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. The reservations for the national government forecast the "Congress Lands" of the later ordinances.

The obvious obstruction in the path of carrying out any plan like Deane's (aside from the detail of ending European claim of sovereignty by winning the war) was the need of having the

several States claiming western land relinquish those claims. In our brief sketch of the process by which this was accomplished³ the psychic and moral influence of the theories like Deane's, of eventual-federated-statehood for the western provinces, was only mentioned; and while the economic disturbance to be caused in the older commonwealths by the opening of unlimited regions for healthy and adventurous pioneering and a resultant loss of a "balance of power" were potent arguments, the great plain facts of the case were that the rich West would be occupied by friend or foe, that the logical dream of every far-seeing man was a republic of continental dimensions—let what upsettings of equilibrium come that might.

Thomas Paine was such a man, and though his proposed "State"—outlined in his *Public Good* in 1780—was south of the Ohio River it was a western State and his ideas concerning it secured the attention that any work by the author of *Common Sense* and *The Crisis* received. In these treatises he advocated the use of western lands for the creation of a fund "for the benefit of all," with Congress acting in the role of "continental trustees."⁴ Later Paine advances a plan of a new State of between twenty and thirty mill-

³ *These Collections*, i, xv-xxiv.

⁴ Doc. ii. For the words "continent" or "continental" the uninitiated must supply "nation" or "national" as we use those words today.

ion acres bounded in general by the Allegheny Mountains on the east, the Ohio River on the north, the North Carolina line on the south and on the west by a straight line from the "Falls of the Ohio" (Louisville) to the southern boundary.⁵ He called this "fighting the enemy with their own weapons" because his State occupied, in part, the proposed site of the Vandalia colony which was to have redounded to "the emolument of the Crown of England"; to use it now, by way of securing a fund to fight England, aroused all of Paine's latent enthusiasm.

He estimated that twenty million acres could be sold (through land offices established in Europe) for four million pounds — a fund sufficient to carry on the war three years. To satisfy Virginian objections to the loss of a western empire Paine brilliantly forecasts the probable alienation of the trans-Allegheny Virginians, in effect casting a true prophesy of what took place when Kentucky broke from the Old Dominion; he points out the value of a buttress State and the value of the import trade which must pass through Virginia. Among other suggestions and prophecies which tumble with such facility from Paine's pen, one notes the idea of western lands being used to reimburse those whose property is despoiled by war, as happened by the grant of the "fire-lands" later in Ohio.

Although antedated by Silas Deane in advo-

⁵ Doc. iii.

cating the amalgamation of western States with the "original Thirteen" on terms of equality, Paine may well be remembered as the chief early champion of this epoch-making idea; more accurately than was done by any other at the time does he trace the probable steps—the settling of the matters of boundaries, the creation of an organic law by the national Congress which should be supplanted, when the State acquired a given population, by a constitution drafted by the inhabitants themselves; he advocates the right of an embryonic western State to a non-voting representative in Congress and reëchoes his argument in *Common Sense* concerning the necessity of a constitutional convention of all the States to define and describe the powers of Congress.

It is plain that real progress was being made in the development of men's ideas in these years 1776-1780 as to what should be the character of the first American State west of the Alleghenies. While the departures from the ideas which were in the thoughts of those who planned the western States of the Revolutionary period like Vandalia are marked—necessitated by the separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country—certain of the olden theories remained; in the reservation called for in the Vandalia grant of three hundred acres "for the purpose of a glebe for

the support of a minister of the church of England" we have the kernel of the later reservations for schools and religion of the Ordinance of 1787; in general, however, the charters for the proposed colonies followed the ancient type, as that of the Massachusetts Bay charter.⁶

By 1780 these ideas crept into the acts passed by the Continental Congress. The question of western cessions was precipitated by Maryland, and various representatives began to show friendship in proportion to the shallowness of their States' claim, as witness New York.

By October, 1780, Congress was ready to outline in plain words the position of the government toward the West as soon as the States claiming that region should relinquish their claims, namely that it "be settled and formed into distinct republican states which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other states." The main point at issue being settled, all details were waived for future determination, excepting only the probable dimensions of the future States; one hundred miles square was set as the minimum size and one hundred and fifty the maximum.

From this date on public interest and discus-

⁶ George Henry Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghonies Before 1780*, 29.

⁷ Docs. iv and v.

sion centered in the manifold questions raised by the problem which Congress had settled in outline.

The main discussion was led in 1781 by the able retired clergyman-economist Pelatiah Webster who came into large reputation five years before for his advocacy of "continental currency" to meet the struggling Colonies' debts. Mr. Webster strongly opposed selling or mortgaging western lands to foreigners and boldly advanced fresh plans that seemingly won the respect of all thinking men and, more than any one man on definite record, hastened the day when the Ordinance of 1784 could be passed.^s In his homely but graphic phrase he urged that Congress preserve the goose which could in time lay a golden egg a day instead of killing it "in order to tear out at once all that was in her belly." In outspoken confidence in the future value of western lands and of future growth of western population he is outranked only by the Washington who wrote that classic "Letter to Harrison" three years later. Every thought of his as to the detail of handling the western country was "path-breaking" in its effect.

He first proposed that all emigrants be vigorously kept out of the West until a portion could be surveyed into tiers of townships of from six

^s Doc. vi.

to ten miles square; survey-before-sale and compact settlement were thus advanced simultaneously. He proposed that no land be sold at less than a Spanish dollar an acre, and that a second tier of townships should not be put on sale until the first had been disposed of. The plan, he said, would obviate the inconveniences and dangers of hit-or-miss settlements as had been made in the South; it would effectually prevent speculation by absentee promoters as no land would be sold except to an actual settler; public sentiment in favor of law and order would advance methodically with the advancing tiers of townships; by such a uniform advance could the problem of Indian relations be handled best. From any view-point, although his ideas may only in a measure have been original with him, all generations which have profited from the wisdom and liberality of the Ordinances of 1784 and 1785 must recognize Pelatiah Webster's manful wrestling with the many-sided problem and the vital contribution that he made, or the ideas, at least, of which he became chief spokesman.

A new and important element now enters into the development of the western problem with the conclusion of the Revolutionary War—an army clamoring for a fulfillment of the government's promise of bounty lands and standing ready to accept, in payment for services, the only asset in the governments possession, western lands.

The two schools of thought, heretofore represented by Paine and Webster, the one favoring the killing of the goose for its immediate egg and the other favoring its preservation for steady future production, find their counterpart in the post-Revolutionary period in the writings of Pickering and Bland who offered the "Army" and the "Financier's" plans.

With this changing phase in the discussion the new ideas are found to be much more similar in character than is true of Paine's and Webster's plans, the one marked difference being that no longer did men plan a western State to be disposed of by setting up land offices in Europe and the sale of lands to individuals or companies across the sea. Though the two new schools which supplanted the old had much in common, as the names suggest, one had migration and settlement as its chief objective and the other the use of the West as a national asset. In working out a final decision, through numerous compromises, both ideas contributed to the final solution.

Timothy Pickering, who, as Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General, had won for himself an enviable reputation during the Revolution, became spokesman for the army with reference to western lands and Statehood.* The "Pickering Plan" called for the creation of a new

* Doc. viii.

State bounded by the Pennsylvania line, the Ohio and Maumee river and Lake Erie; the western line was to be a meridian running northward from a point on the Ohio River thirty miles west of the mouth of the Scioto River. This State was to be settled by those of the disbanded army entitled to bounty lands banded together as "associators," the government, in a parental way, to aid the movement by supplying means of transportation, rations, utensils, arms, etc., etc. The unclaimed lands were to be sold by the State for its own benefit; the associators were to adopt their own constitution and the State was to be admitted into the Union on equal terms with the original States. Compared with the earlier plans, Pickering's scheme is notable because it ignores Webster's compact settlement and survey-before-sale ideas, also because it first voices the use of money accruing from the sale of undisposed lands for "schools and academies" and the "total exclusion of slavery" from the new State.

This general plan, as we have suggested, was Pickering's probably in the same sense that the Declaration of Independence was Jefferson's— it voiced the ideas of his coterie of friends and advisers and was framed in his language. However, no document of the hour, written by the adherents of the "army" school, quite equals in interest the broad outlook and sane judgment of General Rufus Putnam's contemporaneous

"Thoughts on A Peace Establishment for The United States of America"¹⁰ and his letter to General Washington of June 16, 1783. Though different in purpose and character, the two documents play into each other. The original copy of the "Thoughts on A Peace Establishment" is endorsed on the back "Requested by Gen'l Washington"; it is a military survey of the United States, its chief harbors, defenses, and lines of communications and is remarkable for its proposal to defend the trans-Allegheny provinces by a line of forts stretching from the Ohio River at Yellow Creek to Lake Erie, at the present site of Cleveland. Following this outline of the strategic military keys of the continent, is a well considered plan of a "regular Continental Militia" calling for the maintenance of fifty-four companies of infantry, twelve companies of artillery, and one company of artificers. Writers on our military history, who have decried our studied policy of unpreparedness, would do well to note that one trenchant writer of the Revolutionary era, of wide experience, was advocating at this time an army of some proportions (30,000 men and officers) on a basis of compulsory military service.

General Putnam's letter to Washington accompanied the "Petition of the Subscribers, Officers in the Continental Line" which we have

¹⁰ Doc. x.

printed elsewhere.¹¹ That petition was based on the Pickering outline; it called for the setting apart of a State between the boundaries drawn by Pickering which was "in time to be admitted *one* of the confederated States of America." General Putnam's accompanying letter¹² deserves high place in the annals of the building of the "Old Northwest;" its breadth of view, its amazing foresight and its ring of hopeful patriotism are, alike, unequalled by any document of the time. The lines of Putnam's State coincided with those of Pickering's, the whole to contain about seventeen and one-half million acres; like Webster, he advocates the township system, and, like Pickering, he suggests lands allotted for schools; but Putnam goes a step further than either and includes land for the support of religion. He opposes large grants to individuals but forecasts his own Ohio Company of 1788 by suggesting that others beside officers and soldiers be allowed to "petition for charters on purchase." His scheme, however, is pre-eminently that of a soldier's, and he repeats his arguments in favor of military establishments at strategic points. Clearer than any man at the time he foresees the dangers that lurk in Spain's grasp on the Mississippi; nor does the importance of fortifying the lake frontier "in case of a

¹¹ Vol. I, xxvi-xxviii.

¹² Doc. xi.

war with Great Britain" miss his eye; and he closes with a strong plea for the opening of the land to the proposed adventurers who, established on the Ohio and the lakes, will "banish forever the idea of our western territory falling under the dominion of any European power." His choice of West Point (which he later laid out) as the "Grand Arsenal of America" is worthy of special mention.

We have slightly broken into the correct chronological order by treating the Pickering and Putnam plans in sequence; but as one is a complement of the other it was proper to do so. But between the two, in point of time, was voiced what is called the "Financier's Plan," Theodorick Bland, a member of Congress from Virginia, being its chief spokesman.¹⁸ As the name implies, it was the plan of those who had on their shoulders the heavy task of meeting with an empty treasury the demands of the Army crying for pay long over due. It was embodied in a motion made by Bland in Congress June 5, 1783, to enact an ordinance laying out "a tract of unlocated or vacant territory" in "districts" two degrees of latitude in length and three degrees of longitude in width. Hitherto men had planned western States on natural geographical lines; with the Bland ordinance we have the in-

¹⁸ Doc. ix.

troduction of arbitrary lines which took less account of watersheds, river valleys, and lake shores. Each "district" was to be surveyed into townships and be admitted "a separate, independent, and sovereign State"; each soldier was to have thirty acres for every dollar owed him by the government — over and above the regular bounty in land due to him. Ten thousand acres from each hundred thousand were to be reserved to the government and the money accruing therefrom was to be used in payment of the civil list, for erecting forts and founding "seminaries of learning"; any surplus remaining was to be used in "building and equipping a navy and to no other use or purpose whatever." Of all the schemes for western States Bland's alone made provision for use of funds for the protection of the eastern sea-coast by a navy. The plan is of no little importance for its contribution of the arbitrary line idea; otherwise it reëchoes most of the old ideas of federated States, government survey, and reservations to promote education, the township system, etc. No action on Bland's ordinance was taken.

In contrast to the arbitrary line idea is that of General Washington's, outlined in a letter to James Duane three months later — September 7, 1783.¹⁴ A careful student of geography and frontier transportation, Washington was partic-

¹⁴ Doc. xii.

ularly interested in the relation of the boundary question to that of Indian relations; he drew the new State along the lines of Pickering and Putnam with one exception. He inclined toward making the Miami and Maumee River valleys the western line, with an extension or "gore" to include a strip of land along the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers to include the site of Detroit; this projection, however, he affirms to be illogical and favors throwing Detroit over into the next State to be formed to the westward.

Five months later, February, 1784, we find David Howell, the Rhode Island jurist and member of Congress, outlining a new plan of state-building¹⁵—a matter which he considered of equal importance with any then demanding the attention of Congress. Howell strikes a new note when he affirms in a letter to Jonathan Arnold that the republicanism of the trans-Allegheny pioneer—"the gods of the mountains"—will be the sheet-anchor of the young Republic when the people of the "eastern shores" shall become "rich and luxurious and ready to yield their liberties into the hands of a tyrant."

The basic idea of the new plan seems to be an attempt to check the possible power of a "tyrant," or the overpowering influence of one section, by the use of a balance-of-power scheme to

¹⁵ Doc. xiv.

play off one section against another. The Union was to be divided into three tiers of States; the most westerly tier was to lie between the Mississippi River and a meridian drawn through the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) from the Gulf of Mexico to upper Lake Michigan; the next tier was to be bounded on the east by a meridian drawn from the North Carolina line to Lake Erie through the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and on the south and north by the Carolina line and the Great Lakes, respectively; the eastern tier embraced the remainder of the Union south of the Carolina line and east of the Great Kanawha meridian. Fourteen new States were to be erected in the two westerly tiers, containing two degrees of latitude each, the meridians to determine their longitude. The first State was to be bounded by the Great Kanawha meridian, the Pennsylvania line, the Ohio River and Lake Erie.

Howell, taking the debates of Congress at Princeton as mentor, outlines for the first time the progressive stages through which these districts shall move before attaining full Statehood. In the first stage they are to complete a local organization, choose a constitution of one of the old States, pay taxes and have a "sitting member" in Congress. On attaining a prescribed number of inhabitants the second heaven is entered and a constitution of their own making shall be al-

lowed. When the population of the district is equal to any of the original States such district shall be admitted to the federal union on subscribing to certain stipulations. These included a renunciation of the right of ceding from the Union, the payment of their proportional part of the national debt, the abandonment of slavery after 1800, the surrender of any hereditary title on the part of any citizen on penalty of forfeiture of citizenship.

A review of this discussion of over a decade of years, if only the arguments of the most important men are considered, makes it possible for one to estimate accurately the origin of the famous Ordinance of 1784 which now followed.¹⁶ While in some particulars it introduces new elements and ideas, hardly a fundamental proposition is found in it that was not suggested in these years of discussion and debate. It is only by recognizing the seedlings as scattered by these real "Fathers" of the West and noting what were good and brought forth fruit and what were not of value and cast aside, that we can feel and know that these great documents were human in all senses of the word. By knowing something of the maze of alternatives that confronted the Congress that passed the Ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787, by knowing that its members chose

¹⁶ Doc. xv.

with rare judgment wheat from chaff, it becomes possible for us to give honor where it is due and be impressed as never before by the earnestness and fidelity and foresight of those who labored in behalf of a territory in the making. No more important precedent was established in our history than the precedent of the creation of the "Territory North West of the River Ohio"; it was to make itself felt in every word of legislation passed concerning every foot of land that lay between the Alleghenies and the Pacific.

The Ordinance of 1784 followed the general lines of the discussions as outlined by Howell; it was written by Thomas Jefferson, who, with Chase of Maryland and Howell, completed the committee which reported the bill. Its original draft contained the prohibition of slavery proposed by Timothy Pickering, but, in the vote on the final draft, this was stricken out; had not Mr. Monroe been absent on account of illness the slavery proviso would have been retained.

This Ordinance has been loosely called "inoperative"; by this it should be understood that it provided no actual plan for the disposition of the western lands by Congress. This problem was taken up the year following by the appointment of a committee consisting of three members from Southern States, Jefferson, Williamson, and Read, and two members from the North, Gerry and Howell. How far the Ordinance

which they finally reported reflected the ideas of Webster, Pickering, and Putnam, may be seen by comparing the ideas of those men herein reproduced with "An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Territory," commonly known as the Land Ordinance of 1785.¹⁷ The northern township system and survey-before-sale plan was unanimously adopted. The first lines were to be run by the Geographer of the United States, Thomas Hutchins, from the crossing place of the Pennsylvania line on the Ohio River, straight north and west. These lines were to be the eastern and southern boundaries of seven ranges of townships, each six miles square. Already by the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, dated January 21, 1785, the Indian title to this region had been quieted.¹⁸

Many of the documents relating to the military phases of these important years of 1785, 1786, and 1787, from the *Harmer Papers* and the files of the War Department, have been published.¹⁹ The material here presented, with exception of a few quotations from these sources, relates to the surveys of the Seven Ranges from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*²⁰ and fills the gap in

¹⁷ Doc. xvii.

¹⁸ Doc. xvi.

¹⁹ W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, ii, 1-22.

²⁰ Docs. xviii-xlvii.

the record of the territory in the making up to the passing of the Ordinance of 1787 which was immediately endorsed and made legal by the first Congress under the Constitution. Thomas Hutchins with his corps of surveyors began the first survey of the Northern line of the Seven Ranges September 22-October 23, 1785, when the Indians compelled him to desist. Taking up the work again in July, 1786, more than four ranges were surveyed before the end of February, 1787. The papers here reproduced, many from Hutchins's hand, portray the difficulties of this undertaking. Their very miscellaneous character illustrate the temper of the Indians, the difficulties of surveying so far beyond settled limits and give us a glimpse into the forests of old Ohio not found elsewhere. A reading of them proves what a virgin field lies open to the historians of Ohio who will make use of all the materials extant.

The picture shows on the one hand a large body of eager lusty pioneers, supreme in their disdain of the surly Indians, unique in their strong sense of democracy, crowding the Ohio's shores; hundreds boldly cross the river, build homes, elect magistrates and call on their fellows far and wide to elect delegates to meet at the mouth of the Scioto to form a State convention and adopt a constitution.²¹ On the other hand we see the sur-

²¹ Doc. xxi.

veyors under the lead of the Geographer of the United States taking their stand where the Pennsylvania line crosses the Ohio and lay down the first of that great net-work of lines that shall stretch to Oregon and California and around Kentucky to the last sandy dune of the Floridan peninsula, creating the township system. These surveyors are protected by that kernel of troops which shall become the United States army. These troops nail to the Ohio trees the proclamation of Congress²² that no trespassers will be allowed on the land, burn the cabins of the embittered vanguard but fail to eradicate them. And on the confines of the scene lurk the banditti of Mingoes and Cherokees who dispute the authority of the Delawares, Wyandots, and Chippewas who signed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh ceding these lands.²³

No thinking person can read the documents which hint at, rather than describe, these doubly critical days in the Old Northwest without being impressed anew and more poignantly with the great wisdom with which "the Fathers" handled this enormously important theme, their sturdiness of purpose and steadfast refusal to allow the "tomahawk claim" system to break across the Ohio. A precedent was here set of immeasurable importance and it should be remembered to

²² Doc. xxvii.

²³ Doc. xvi.

the honor of the Congress that is so often characterized as a "weakling," a government "by supplication." The actors in this trans-Allegheny episode — the surly borderers, the recalcitrant savages and the alert but fearful surveyors — did not recognize it as such!

The concluding pages of the volume are given up to the one detailed account in existence of the daily routine and experiences of the surveyors who were running the lines of the Seven Ranges. This is the Journal of John Matthews. Its simple descriptions of forest and meadowland probably exerted a greater influence on the New England imagination than came from any other source. The document was presented to Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth by the Reverend William Harris, Treasurer of Princeton University, in 1886 and forms a part of the "Hildreth Collection" in the Marietta College Library.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

Camp Travis,
San Antonio, Texas
April 7, 1918

PART ONE

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE
ORDINANCE OF 1784¹

I

SILAS DEANE ON WESTERN LANDS (1776)²

. . . From these and other considerations, on which I need not be minute, emigrations from *Europe* will be prodigious immediately on the establishment of *American independence*. The consequence of this must be the rise of the lands already settled, and a demand for new or uncultivated; on this demand I conceive a certain fund may now be fixed. You may smile, and recollect the sale of the bearskin in the fable, but at the same time must be sensible that your wants are real; and if others can be induced to relieve them, it is indifferent to you whether they have a consideration in hand or in prospect.

I trace the river *Ohio* from its junction to its head; thence north to *Lake Erie*, on the south and west of that lake to *Fort Detroit*, which is in the latitude of

¹ The reprint of the succeeding documents supplements Prof. Payson J. Treat's antecedents of the Land Ordinance of 1785 (*The National Land System*, 29-40) and Jay A. Barrett's antecedents of the Ordinance of 1787 (*Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*).

² Extract from a letter to the Secret Committee of Congress, dated at Paris, December 1, 1776 — from *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 1020-1021.

Boston; thence a west course to the *Mississippi*, and return to the place of my departure. These three lines, of near one thousand miles each, include an immense territory in a fine climate well watered and by accounts exceedingly fertile; it is not inhabited by any *Europeans* of consequence, and the tribes of *Indians* are inconsiderable, and will decrease faster than the lands can possibly be called for, for cultivation. To this I ask your attention, as a resource amply adequate, under proper regulations, for defraying the whole expense of the war, and the sums necessary to be given the *Indians* in purchase of the native right. But to give this land value, inhabitants are necessary. I therefore propose, in the first place, that a grant be made of a tract of land at the mouth of the *Ohio*, between that and the *Mississippi*, equal to two hundred square miles, to a company formed indiscriminately of *Europeans* and *Americans*, which company should form a distinct State, confederated with and under the general regulations of the *United States General of America*. That the Congress of the *United States* shall out of such grant reserve the defraying or discharging the publick debts or expenses, one-fifth part of all the lands, mines, etc., within said tract, to be disposed of by the Congress in such manner as good policy and the publick exigencies may dictate; the said one-fifth to be sequestered out of every grant or settlement made by the company, of equal goodness with the rest of such grant or settlement; the company on their part shall engage to have in seven years after the passing such grant [blank] thousand families settled on said grant, and civil

government regulated and supported on the most free and liberal principles, taking therein the advice of the honorable Congress of the *United States of North America*. They shall also, from and after their having one thousand families as above said, contribute their proportion of the publick expenses of the continent, or *United States*, according to the number of their inhabitants, and shall be entitled to a voice in Congress as soon as they are called on thus to contribute.³ The company shall at all times have the preference of purchasing the Continental or common interest thus reserved, when it shall be offered to sale. The company shall consist, on giving the patent or grant, of at least one hundred persons.

These are the outlines of a proposed grant, which you see contains more than twenty-five millions acres of land, the one-fifth of which, if a settlement is carried on vigorously, will soon be of most prodigious value. At this time a company might be formed in *France, Germany, etc.*, who would form a stock of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to defray the expense of this settlement. By such a step you in the first place extend the circle of your connection and influence, you increase the number of your inhabitants, proportionably lessen the common expenses, and have in the reserve a fund for publick exigencies. Further, as this company would be in a great degree commercial, the establishing commerce at the junction of these large rivers would immediately give a value to all the lands situated on

³ It is to be noted that Deane in a shadowy way here outlines the "progressive" idea afterward adopted for the western territories which automatically advanced from a state of probation into a full federated condition.

or near them, within the above extensive description; and further grants might admit of larger reserves, amply sufficient for defraying the expenses of the war, and possibly for establishing funds for other important purposes,

It may be objected, this is not a favorable time for such a measure. I reply, it is the most favorable that can happen. You want money, and by holding up this early view a certain fund, on which to raise it, even the most certain in the world, that of land security, you may obtain the loan and engage the moneyed interests of *Europe* in your favor. I have spoken with many persons of good sense on this subject, which makes me the more sanguine.

. . . I will now dismiss this scheme. . . only adding, or rather repeating, what I have in a former letter wrote, that a large and generous allowance ought immediately be made for the officers and soldiers serving in the present war. . . This will make the Army consist literally of a set of men fighting for freehold; and it will be a great encouragement to foreigners, with whom five hundred or a thousand acres of land has a great sound.

II

THOMAS PAINE ON WESTERN LANDS (1780)⁴

. . . Another reason why the present time for separation from Great Britain is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more

⁴ Extract from "Common Sense" — Paine's *Works* (1878), 40 seq.

land there is yet unoccupied, which, instead of being lavished by the king on his worthless dependents, may be hereafter applied, not only to the discharge of the present debt, but to the constant support of the government. No nation under heaven hath such an advantage as this. . . .

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and she remain the governing and sovereign power of America, (which, as matters are now circumstanced, is giving up the point entirely) we shall deprive ourselves of the very means of sinking the debt we have or may contract. The value of the back lands, which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extension of the limits of Canada,⁵ valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions Pennsylvania currency; and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the sale of those lands that the debt may be sunk, without burden to any, and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time, will wholly support the yearly expense of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, so that the lands when sold be applied to the discharge of it, and for the execution of which, the congress for the time being, will be the Continental trustees.

⁵ The Quebec Act.

III

THOMAS PAINE ON GOVERNMENT OF WESTERN
TERRITORY (1780)⁶

The succession of the United States to the vacant Western territory is a right they originally set upon; and in the pamphlet "Common Sense," I frequently mentioned those lands as a National fund for the benefit of all; therefore, resuming the subject where I then left off, I shall conclude with concisely reducing to system what I then only hinted.

In my last piece, the "Crisis Extraordinary," I estimated the annual amount of the charge of war and the support of the several governments at two million pounds sterling, and the peace establishment at three quarters of a million, and, by a comparison of the taxes of this country with those of England, proved that the whole yearly expense to us, to defend the country, is but a third of what Britain would have drawn from us by taxes, had she succeeded in her attempt to conquer; and our peace establishment only an eighth part; and likewise showed, that it was within the ability of the states to carry on the whole of the war by taxation, without having recourse to any other modes or funds.

To have a clear idea of taxation is necessary to every country, and the more funds we can discover and organize, the less will be the hope of the enemy, and the readier their disposition to peace, which it is now *their* interest more than *ours* to promote.

I have already remarked that only the United

⁶ Extract from "Public Good" — Paine's *Works* (1894), ii, 61 seq.

States, and not any particular state, can lay off new states and incorporate them into the Union by representation; keeping, therefore, this idea in view, I ask, might not a substantial fund be quickly created by laying off a new state, so as to contain between twenty and thirty millions of acres, and opening a land office in all countries in Europe for hard money, and in this country for supplies in kind, at a certain price.

The tract of land that seems best adapted to answer this purpose is contained between the Alleghany mountains and the river Ohio, as far north as the Pennsylvania line, thence extending down the said river to the falls, thereof, thence due south into the latitude of the North Carolina line, and thence east to the Alleghany mountains aforesaid. I more readily mention this tract, because it is fighting the enemy with their own weapons, as it includes the same ground on which a new colony would have been erected, for the emolument of the crown of England, as appears by the letters of lords Hillsborough and Dartmouth, had not the revolution prevented its being carried into effect.⁷

It is probable that there may be some spots of private property within this tract, but to incorporate them into some government will render them more profitable to the owners, and the condition of the scattered settlers more eligible and happy than at present.

If twenty millions of acres of this new state be patented and sold at twenty pounds sterling per

⁷ The Vandalia Company — see G. H. Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghenies Before 1780*, 23-28.

hundred acres, they will produce four million pounds sterling, which, if applied to continental expenses only, will support the war for three years, should Britain be so unwise as to prosecute it against her own direct interest and against the interest and policy of all Europe. The several states will then have to raise taxes for their internal government only, and the continental taxes, as soon as the fund begins to operate, will lessen, and if sufficiently productive, will cease.

Lands are the real riches of the habitable world and the natural funds of America. The funds of other countries are, in general, artificially constructed; the creatures of necessity and contrivance; dependent on credit, and always exposed to hazard and uncertainty. But lands can neither be annihilated nor lose their value; on the contrary, they universally rise with population, and rapidly so, when under the security of effectual government. But this it is impossible for Virginia to give, and therefore, that which is capable of defraying the expenses of the empire, will, under the management of any single state, produce only a fugitive support to wandering individuals.

I shall now inquire into the effects which the laying out a new state, under the authority of the United States, will have upon Virginia. It is the very circumstance she ought to, and must, wish for, when she examines the matter in all its bearings and consequences.

The present settlers beyond her reach, and her supposed authority over them remaining in herself, they will appear to her as revolters, and she to them

as oppressor; and this will produce such a spirit of mutual dislike, that in a little time a total disagreement will take place to the disadvantage of both. But under the authority of the United States the matter is manageable, and Virginia will be eased of a disagreeable consequence.

Besides this, a sale of the lands, continentally, for the purpose of supporting the expense of the war, will save her a greater share of taxes, than the small sale which she could make herself, and the small price she could get for them would produce.

She would likewise have two advantages which no other state in the Union enjoys; first, a frontier state for her defense against the incursions of the Indians; and the second is, that the laying out and peopling a new state on the back of an old one, situated as she is, is doubling the quantity of its trade.

The new state which is here proposed to be laid out may send its exports down the Mississippi, but its imports must come through Chesapeake bay, and consequently Virginia will become the market for the new state; because, though there is a navigation from it, there is none into it, on account of the rapidity of the Mississippi.⁸

There are certain circumstances that will produce certain events whether men think of them or not. The events do not depend upon thinking, but are the natural consequence of acting, and according to the system which Virginia has gone upon, the issue will

⁸ This argument is reëchoed four years later by Jefferson but in favor of Virginia's refusing to cede land east of the Great Kanawha meridian — Jefferson to Washington, March 15, 1784, *Old South Leaflets*, vi, 16.

be, that she will get involved with back settlers in a contention about *rights*, till they dispute with their own claims; and, soured by the contention, will go to any other state for their commerce;⁹ both of which may be prevented, a perfect harmony established, the strength of the states increased, and the expenses of the war defrayed, by settling the matter now on the plan of a general right; and every day it is delayed, the difficulty will be increased and the advantages lessened.

But if it should happen, as it possibly may, that the war should end before the money, which the new state may produce, be expended, the remainder of the lands therein may be set apart to reimburse those whose houses have been burnt by the enemy, as this is a species of suffering which it was impossible to prevent, because houses are not moveable property; and it ought not to be that because we cannot do everything, that we ought not to do what we can.

Having said this much on the subject, I think it necessary to remark, that the prospect of a new fund, so far from abating our endeavors in making every immediate provision for the army, ought to quicken us therein; for should the states see it expedient to go upon the measure, it will be at least a year before it can be productive. I more freely mention this, because there is a dangerous species of popularity, which I fear, some men are seeking from their constituents by giving them grounds to believe, that if they are elected they will lighten the taxes; a measure which, in the present state of things, cannot

⁹ In illustration, note the petition of Kentuckians to be permitted to remove across the Ohio; Doc. xxxiii.

be done without exposing the country to the ravages of the enemy by disabling the army from defending it.

Where knowledge is a duty, ignorance is a crime; and if any man whose duty it was to know better, has encouraged such an expectation, he has either deceived himself or them; besides, no country can be defended without expense, and let any man compare his portion of the temporary inconveniences arising from taxation with the real distresses of the army for the want of supplies, and the difference is not only sufficient to strike him dumb, but to make him thankful that worse consequences have not followed.

In advancing this doctrine, I speak with an honest freedom to the country; for as it is their good to be defended, so is it their interest to provide that defence, at least till other funds can be organized.

As the laying out new states will some time or other be the business of the country, and as it is yet a new business to us, and as the influence of war has scarcely afforded leisure for reflecting on distant circumstances, I shall throw together a few hints for facilitating that measure whenever it may be proper for adopting it.

The United States now standing on the line of sovereignty, the vacant territory is their property collectively, but the persons by whom it may hereafter be peopled will also have an equal right with ourselves; and therefore, as new states shall be laid off and incorporated with the present, they will become partakers of the remaining territory with us who are already in possession. And this consideration

ought heighten the value of lands to new emigrants ; because, in making the purchases, they not only gain an immediate property, but become initiated into the right and heirship of the states to a property in reserve, which is an additional advantage to what any purchasers under the late government of England enjoyed.

The setting off the boundary of any new state will naturally be the first step, and as it must be supposed not to be peopled at the time it is laid off, a constitution must be formed by the United States, as the rule of government in any new state for a certain term of years (perhaps ten) or until the state becomes peopled to a certain number of inhabitants ; after which, the whole and sole right of modelling their government to rest with themselves.

A question may arise, whether a new state should immediately possess an equal right with the present ones in all cases which may come before Congress.

This, experience will best determine ; but at a first view of the matter it appears thus : That it ought to be immediately incorporated into the Union on the ground of a family right, such a state standing in the line of a younger child of the same stock ; but as new emigrants will have something to learn when they first come to America, and a new state requiring aid rather than capable of giving it, it might be most convenient to admit its immediate representation into Congress, there to sit, hear and debate on all matters, but not to vote on any till after the expiration of seven years.¹⁰

¹⁰ Silas Deane, we have seen, expressed the idea of a western state having at first a "voice" in the national Congress ; Paine here first

I shall in this place take the opportunity of reviewing a hint which I formerly threw out in the pamphlet "Common Sense," and which the several states will, sooner or later see the convenience if not the necessity of adopting; which is, that of electing a constitutional convention, for the purpose of forming a continental constitution, defining and describing the powers and authority of Congress.

IV

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS ON THE CESSION OF WESTERN LANDS (1780)¹¹

Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee to whom were referred the instructions of the general assembly of Maryland to their delegates in Congress, respecting the articles of confederation, and the declaration therein referred to, the act of the legislature of New York on the same subject,¹² and the remonstrance of the general assembly of Virginia; which report was agreed to, and is in the words following:

"That having duly considered the several matters to them submitted, they conceive it unnecessary to examine into the merits or the policy of the instructions or declaration of the general assembly of suggests the plan finally adopted of a "sitting" member without a vote.

¹¹ Extract from *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xvii, 806-807.

¹² We have elsewhere quoted Professor Treat's opinion as to the "positive" influence of New York in the cession matter (i, xvii, *note*); it is clearly brought out in the present document.

Maryland, or of the remonstrance of the general assembly of Virginia, as they involve questions, a discussion of which was declined on mature consideration, when the articles of confederation were debated; nor, in the opinion of the committee, can such questions be now revived with any prospect of conciliation; that it appears more advisable to press upon these states which can remove the embarrassment respecting the Western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they cannot be preserved entire without endangering the stability of the general confederacy; to remind them how indispensibly necessary it is to establish the federal union on a fixed and permanent basis, and on principles acceptable to all its respective members; how essential to public credit and confidence, to the support of our army, to the vigour of our councils and success of our measures, to our tranquillity at home, and our reputation abroad, to our present safety and our future prosperity, to our very existence as sovereign and independent people; that they are fully persuaded the wisdom []¹⁸ of the respective legislatures will lead them to a full and impartial consideration of a subject so interesting to the United States, and so necessary to the happy establishment of the federal union; that they are confirmed in their expectations by a review of the beforementioned act of the legislature of New York, submitted to their consideration; that this act is ex-

¹⁸ Words here stricken out: "and magnanimity of the patriotic legislators of these states will on an occasion of such vast magnitude, prompt them to prefer the general security to local attachment, and the permanency of the confederacy to an unwieldy extent of their respective limits."

pressly calculated to accelerate the federal alliance, by removing, as far as it depends on that state, the impediment arising from the Western country, and for that purpose to yield a portion of territorial claim for the general benefit; []¹⁴. Whereupon,

Resolved. That copies of the several papers referred to the committee be transmitted, with a copy of the report, to the legislatures of []¹⁵ the several states, and that it be earnestly recommended to those states, who have claims to the Western country, to pass such laws, and give their delegates in Congress such powers as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation; and that the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the said articles;¹⁶

V

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS ON THE FORMATION OF THE STATES IN THE WESTERN TERRITORY (1780)¹⁷

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on the motion made by the delegates of Virginia; and thereupon,

¹⁴ Words here stricken out: "an example which in the opinion of your committee deserves applause, and will produce imitation."

¹⁵ Words here stricken out: "Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia."

¹⁶ Words here stricken out: "and that a copy of the aforementioned remonstrance from the Assembly of Virginia and act of the legislature of New York, together with a copy of this report, be transmitted to the said legislature of Maryland."

¹⁷ Extract from *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xviii, 915-916.

Resolved, that the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular states, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6th day of September last, shall be []¹⁸ disposed of for the common benefit of []¹⁹ the United States []²⁰ and be settled and formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other states;²¹ that each state which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; []²²

That the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular state shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any of the British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

That the said lands shall be granted and settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine or more of them. []²³

That no purchases and deeds from any Indians

¹⁸ Omitted: "granted and."

¹⁹ Omitted: "all."

²⁰ Omitted: "that shall be members of the federal Union."

²¹ The first official statement concerning the ultimate federation of western territory.

²² Omitted: "and that upon such cession being made by any State and approved and accepted by Congress, the United States shall guaranty the remaining territory of the said States respectively."

²³ Omitted: "That all purchases made of the Indians of any of said lands by private persons, without the approbation of the Legis-

or Indian nations, for lands within the Territory to be ceded or relinquished, which []²⁴ shall not been ratified by lawful authority, shall be deemed valid or ratified by Congress.

VI

PELATIAH WEBSTER ON OUR WESTERN UNLOCATED LANDS (1781)²⁵

V. Tho' the *title* and *right* of the said six States²⁶ to their *whole western extent* should be indisputable, yet the *preservation* and *use* of it are secured to them, and the whole must for ever be *defended*, by the *arms* and at the *expense* of the *States-general*. The *quotas* of this expense ought to be *proportioned* to the value and extent of the thing secured and defended by it; *qui sentit commodum, sentire debet quoque onus* but if the quotas of the said six States should be *increased* in proportion to the great *extent* of their territory, or even the *value* of the same, it would bring such a very *pressing weight* on the present inhabitants, as might be beyond their strength or at least inconvenient to them.

For here it is to be considered, that the expense of the war is not to be estimated merely by the *cash* it has cost; but the *devastation* of the enemy, the loss
lature of the State to whom the right of preëmption belonged, shall not be deemed valid to make a title to such purchases."

²⁴ Omitted: "have been made without the approbation of the legislature of the state within whose limits it lay for the use of any private person or persons whatsoever make a title to the purchases."

²⁵ Extract from Webster's *Political Essays* (1791), 491 seq.

²⁶ Seven states claimed western lands: Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia.

of lives, etc. are to be brought into the account; and when the estimate comes to be made on these principles, it will rise very high on such parts of the interest defended as could lose *no lives*, because it had *no inhabitants*; and was incapable of *devastation*, because it had *no improvements* which could be destroyed.

Besides, as all the States have exerted themselves with *equal ardor, danger, and effort* in carrying on the war, it is but reasonable they should all share *alike* in the *advantages* resulting from it. To these might be added many more strong reasons why the said six States should cede or grant their western uncultivated lands to the States-general, to remain a common stock, till they can be disposed of for the good of the whole.

But I deem it needless to urge this matter farther, because I am informed that a general conviction of the expediency of this measure prevails thro' all the States, and that it is freely agreed on the part of the said six States, to make such a *cession* or *grant* to the States-general, as above mentioned, and that the same will soon be done.

We will suppose, then, that this is done, and the right and title of these western uncultivated lands vested in the States-general; what is to be done with them? *i. e.* how are they to be managed, in order to obtain the greatest national benefit possible from them?

Some people think we ought to *sell* or *mortgage* them to *foreign States*, for money in our present distress. But I have many reasons against this method. The first is,

That it is capable of the most demonstrative proof, that *no importation of money* can help us, even if it *was given to us*, much less if our lands are to be *mortgaged* for it. We are in much more danger from the *plenty* of money coming from all quarters in upon us, than from any *scarcity of it*; our salvation must arise from the *wealth* and *virtue* which abounds in the country, not in hunting abroad for money.

Besides, I abhor the very idea of *strangers* having their *paw on any of our lands* in any shape whatever; and,

Further, they would bring *mighty little* in this way, *i. e.* very little *present* benefit, tho' enough of *future* trouble; it would be like killing the goose that laid an egg every day, in order to tear out at once all that was in her belly. But every idea of this sort is painful to me; I wish not to dwell longer on it, but beg leave to propose a method which appears to me more for our advantage.

I. Let the ceded territory be divided from the uncaded by the plainest lines, and let it be kept in its present uncultivated state, and preserved from the *intrusion of any settlers whatever*, by the most rigid and effectual prohibitions, till the *lands adjoining* are *fully settled*; then,

II. Survey out townships of *six, eight, or ten miles square*, continuous to the unsettled country, and sell the lands at vendue to the highest bidder, on the following conditions:

1. That none be sold at less than a *Spanish* dollar per acre.
2. That every purchaser be obliged to settle and

improve his purchase within two or three years, or forfeit his lands; the particular regulations of which should be published at the time of sale, and be rigidly executed; and when the *first course or tier* of townships are sold, and the *settlement* of them *secured*, lay out *another tier*, sell them in like manner, and so on thro' the whole. This method will have the following advantages, viz.

1. All the lands sold will bring at least a dollar per acre; and if we admit, as above computed, those 300,000,000 acres²⁷ of our western territory to become the public property of the States-general, and allow 100,000,000 acres for lakes, ponds, beds of rivers, barrens, etc. there will remain 200,000,000 acres of good land to be sold; which, at a dollar per acre, will produce 200,000,000 *hard dollars* for the treasury of the United States; the annual interest of which, at 5 per cent. will be 10,000,000 dollars *per annum*; a sum much more than sufficient to defray the whole public expenses of the Thirteen States, in a time of peace, and, of course, a large surplus to be expended on a navy, roads, canals, and many other improvements of our country, with a sufficient sum to be laid up for a time of war.

2. This method will push our settlements out in close columns, much less assailable by the enemy, and more easily defended, than extensive, thin populations; there will be people here for defence *near the frontiers*; they will have the inducements of a *near interest* to animate them to the service; their

²⁷ The origin of this estimate of western acreage is difficult to find. It persisted at least down to 1803, when Senator Ross of Pennsylvania used such an estimate in his speech in Congress, February 14th. The Old Northwest contained 169,959,680 acres.



course of life and acquaintance with the country will render them much *more fit* for the service, than people drawn from the interior parts of the country; and the necessary force may be collected and put into action *much quicker*, and with much *less expense*, than if the same was drawn from distant parts.

These and many more and great advantages will naturally result from our pushing out our settlements in close columns, which cannot be expected or hoped for from a vastly extended frontier thinly inhabited.

Add to this, that every new beginner makes his first improvement *in company of near neighbours*, and at but *small distance* from *older settlements*, much *more easily* than he could do alone in a wilderness, where he could receive *no helps from neighbours*, let his necessity be ever so great.

3. This method would obviate one abuse very hurtful to new settlements, most injurious to the individuals who first migrate and bear the hardships of first cultivation, and which greatly retards the population and improvement of a new country, viz. *large quantities of land lying unimproved in the hands of non-residents or absentees*, who neither dwell on the land, nor cause it to be cultivated at all, but their land lies in its wild state, a *refuge for bears, wolves, and other beasts of prey*, ready to *devour* the produce of the neighbouring farmers, bears no part of the *burden of first cultivation*, and keeps the settlers at an *inconvenient distance* from each other, and *obstructs* the growth and riches of the townships in which it lies; whilst the owner, by the *rise of the land*, makes a *fortune* out of the labor

and *toils* of the neighbouring cultivators. This is a most *cruel way of enriching one man by the labor of another*, and so very hurtful to the cultivation of the country, that it ought to be restrained by the most decisive measures.

4. This method will give every inhabitant of the Thirteen States an equal chance of availing himself of any advantage of *procuring lands for the accommodation of himself or family*; whilst, at the same time, the ceding State will reap great benefit from the *produce and trade* of the adjoining settlements, which will, at the same time, become a *secure barrier* to their frontiers, against the incursions of an enemy on that side.

5. In this method we can *extend our laws, customs, and civil police as fast and as far as we extend our settlements*; of course, our frontier people will enjoy every benefit of civil society and regular administration of justice; which cannot take place with equal perfection in the great extent of a thin settled frontier.

6. Another thing very necessary to be observed in the whole management of this affair is, *to cultivate a good and friendly correspondence with the Indian natives, by a careful practice of justice and benevolence towards them*. They are an innumerable race of people, probably extending over a vast country to the west seas, and very great advantages may be derived from their trade, if we can gain and preserve their confidence.

Whereas nobody ever yet gained any thing by an *Indian war*. *Their spoils are of no value; but their revenge and depredations are terrible. It is much*

cheaper to purchase their lands, than to dispossess them by force; and justice in all cases is more profitable than violence and wrong.

It may be noted here, that many inhabitants are already on the lands supposed to be ceded. What is to be done with them? I answer—if their continuance is matter of *uneasiness to the Indians*, and is likely to produce broils with them, they are by all means to be *removed*. For it is unreasonable that the public tranquility should be endangered for the sake of the convenience of a few people, who, *without the least pretence of right*, have fixed themselves down on lands *not their own*.

But notwithstanding this, if their continuance will not endanger the public security, let them keep their possessions on express condition, viz. that, when the townships in which their possessions shall be included when the future surveys shall be made, shall be sold, they shall pay as much for their lands as the other purchasers of the same township pay on an average for theirs, excluding every idea of favor, to which they may think themselves entitled for their *first migration and cultivation*. For I esteem all this very wrong and injurious to the public, which rather deserves punishment than reward.

But there is another objection more forcible, which, I suppose, will be pretty readily made to my scheme, viz. all the benefits of this scheme are *future*, are a great *way off*; but we want *present* supplies, to relieve the present necessities of our country. This was *Esau's* argument when he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, and is certainly a very good one, when really grounded on fact; for no doubt a man

had better give his whole fortune for *one meal* of victuals, than *starve to death* for want of it; but I think wise men will examine this fact very closely, and be very decidedly convinced, that the *supposed* present necessity is *really* great enough to induce us to forego all the fore-mentioned advantages for the sake of the pittance, the trifle of money which those lands would now bring, attended with all the shocking and mortifying disadvantages of giving any foreigners a footing in our country, and a claim upon our most essential and central interests.

But I think the objection itself is grounded on an error; for I think the present advantages resulting from my plan greater than could arise from any kind of mortgage or alienation of these lands; for I consider them like a *rich, valuable, and sure reversion*, which never fails to give the owner a great estimation, credit, and respectability in the eyes of his neighbors, tho' he receives no permanency of present profits; but if this reversion was sold or mortgaged for a trifle, and soon dissipated (as doubtless would be our case) the owner would appear in a light more contemptible, and in every view much more disadvantageous, than if he had never owned the right.

It cannot be too often repeated, that *we are not capable of being saved, or even helped, by the importation of foreign money*; it will destroy our *industry*, it will introduce *luxury*; the increase of *quantity* and *ease of acquirement* will *depreciate it*, and thereby defeat its own uses.

This is as true as the diurnal rotation of the earth, but, like it, not obvious to the perceptions of every kind. Unhappy for us! the *nature of money*, and the

radical essence of the *public finance*, depend on principles *too latent* for easy comprehension; and what makes the matter more dangerous, like many delusive appearances in the natural world, is, they seem to be perfectly easy and obvious, when they are least understood; and therefore it has been observed in all ages, that they work like *magic* under the direction of unskillful men, ever producing *effects* the *least expected*, as well as failing of those *most sanguinely* computed upon.

Their operations, like other doctrines which depend on an affinity of relations, are governed by so many co-operating causes, that their delineation is very difficult, and their demonstration intricate, and not to be understood without a long and deep attention.

They make a part of the *great law of proportions*, which nature never fails to regulate and adjust with perfect exactness, but which the greatest and strongest intellects, with the most nervous attention, can but *imperfectly comprehend*.

Therefore, in this, as in all other branches of physical knowledge, our safest cue and surest principles must be drawn from experiment. But to return to my subject—

I do not apprehend the actual permanency of profits from our western lands, when disposed of according to my plan, so very distant as many may imagine. The argument of analogy, from what has been to what will be, is generally allowed to be a good one. If, therefore, upon this rule of reasoning, we may suppose that the increase of population in our country shall continue the same in time to come as we

have experienced in time past, viz. that the number of souls double once in 25 years, it will appear very probable that our own eyes may live to see the commencement of a great demand and rapid sale of our western territory. The number of souls in the Thirteen States in 1775, was generally computed at 3,000,000. (Some people of great observation were of opinion, this number was much exceeded.) On the aforesaid scale of computation, the number of souls in these states, at the end of the next century, will amount to 96,000,000; enough to extend over the whole territory of our Commonwealth, and more than *Spain, France, Germany, and Italy* now contain.

7. I will here subjoin one thing more, which may perhaps be thought worthy of some consideration, viz. that in surveying and granting the western lands, all saltlicks, and mines of metallic ores, coals, minerals, and all other valuable fossils (in all which the country greatly abounds) may be reserved and sequestered for public use: a great revenue may grow out of them: and it seems unreasonable that those vast sources of wealth should be engrossed and monopolized by any individuals. I think they ought to be improved to the best public advantage, but in such manner, that the vast profits issuing from them should flow into the public treasury, and thereby inure to the equal advantage of the whole community.

The foregoing considerations open to view such great objects, such prospects of vast population and national wealth, as may at first sight appear chimerical, illusory, and incredible. A great minister of state was formerly so astonished at the very mention

of the vast supplies predicted by the prophet *Elisha*, that he, with amazement mixed with unbelief, exclaimed, "*If the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be!*" But I mean to subject this Essay to the most rigid examination. Please to review every proposition, and closely examine every argument and inference I make, and if they do not justify the conclusion, reject them; but if you find the facts alleged, true, the propositions just, and the inferences fairly drawn, do not start at your own good fortune, or shrink from the blessings which Heaven pours on your country. The boundaries herein described, by which the contents of our territories are computed, are taken from *Mitchel's* map, published in 1755, at the request of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and is chiefly composed from draughts, charts, and actual surveys of different parts of the *English* colonies and plantations in *America*, great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships' orders, and transmitted to the plantation-office, as is certified by *John Pownal*, secretary of said office, and is perhaps a map of the best authority and greatest accuracy of any extant. The facts are of public notoriety. The computations are all made on obvious principles, and may be corrected by any body, if wrong. The sentiments are my own, and are cheerfully submitted to the most rigorous scrutiny that can consist with truth and candor. The subject is very large; I do not pretend to exhaust it, or that this Essay is a finished piece; it is a sketch only, a draught of outlines, which, I hope, will be allowed to deserve at least a candid attention. I wish it might be sufficient to

produce a full conviction, that it cannot be the interest of the United States either, 1st. to suffer such vast and valuable blessings to be ravished from us by our enemies; or, 2d. to consent to their being sold and alienated to foreigners, for any little, trifling present considerations; such foolish bargains must originate in very narrow views of the subject, and terminate in shame and loss, and in every stage be marked with mortification, disputes, and embarrassment.

I will conclude by just observing, that this Essay is wholly confined to one branch only, to one single resource, of our public revenue; only one item of our national wealth: an income vast indeed, not drawn at all from the purses of the people, but capable of being so conducted, that every individual who chooses to be interested in it, may find a good profit resulting from the concern. I do not doubt but if the whole great subject was properly surveyed by a mind capable of such reflections, many other sources of revenue might be found, of vast utility to the public, and in no sense injurious, but highly profitable, to individuals. So to graft the revenue on the public stock, so to unite and combine public and private interests, that they may mutually support, feed, and quicken each other, is the secret art, the true spirit of financiering; but we must never lose sight of this one great truth, viz. that all resources of public wealth and safety are only materials put into our hands for improvement, and will prove either profitable or hurtful according to the wisdom or folly with which they are managed. Ruin may grow out of national wealth, as well as from national poverty. Per-

haps it may require more great and good talents to support an affluent fortune than a narrow one. Affluence has at least as many dangers as indigence. All depends on the characters of the men who manage them. The happiness and wretchedness of nations depend on the abilities and virtue of the men employed in the direction of their public affairs. And I pray God to impress a due sense of this great and most important doctrine on the minds of all electors, and others concerned in the appointment of public officers.

VII

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY LAND COMPANIES (1781)²⁸

The delegates of Virginia representing to Congress, that the committee to whom were re-committed the territorial cessions of Virginia, New York and Connecticut, with a memorial signed J. Wilson, by order of the United Illinois and Wabash companies, and the memorial of William Trent, in behalf of himself and other members of the Indiana Company, had given them notice that they should, on Saturday last, confer with the agents of the said companies, on the subject of their several memorials; that the said delegates conceiving that no claim ought to be received from the said companies adverse to the cession of Virginia, or any other State, because if the lands to which pretensions made by those companies lie within the limits of such State,

²⁸ From *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xxi, 1057-1058.

by its authority alone can the merits of their claims be enforced, because the jurisdiction of Congress in territorial questions, being confined to an adjustment of confronting claims of different states, if the lands claimed by those companies lie without the limits of Virginia, or any of the other states, Congress are interdicted by the Confederation from the cognizance of such claims, and because it derogates from the sovereignty of a State to be drawn into contest by an individual, or company of individuals, and therefore that it was not the intention of Congress to authorize the committee to confer with the said agents in such manner as to receive from them claims adverse to the cessions of any of the states abovementioned; the said delegates did request the committee to forbear such conference until the sense of Congress on the subject should be known, and proposing that the question be now taken:

Whether it was the intention of Congress to authorize the committee to receive claims, and hear evidence in behalf of the said companies, adverse to the claims or cessions of Virginia, New York or Connecticut. . . . The yeas and nays being required . . . the previous question was lost.

VIII

PROPOSITIONS FOR SETTLING A NEW STATE BY
SUCH OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE FEDER-
AL ARMY AS SHALL ASSOCIATE FOR THAT
PURPOSE (1783)²⁹

1. That the United States purchase of the natives that tract of country which is bounded by Pennsylvania on the east, the River Ohio on the south, a meridian line drawn thirty miles west of the mouth of the River Scioto on the west—this meridian to run from the Ohio to the Miami River, which runs into Lake Erie—and by this river and Lake Erie on the north.

2. That, in the first instance, lands be assigned to the army to fulfill the engagements of the United States by the resolutions of the 16th of September, 1776, August 13th and September 30th, 1780, to wit:

To a major-general	1,100 acres.
To a brigadier-general	850 “
To a colonel	500 “
To a lieutenant-colonel	450 “
To a major	400 “
To a captain	300 “
To a lieutenant	200 “
To an ensign or cornet	150 “

²⁹ April 7, 1783, in a letter to Richard Hodgdon, Timothy Pickering “enclosed . . . a rough draft” for “a new State westward of the Ohio” in his own handwriting. On its being read to Col. Pickering’s school-fellow, Stephen Higginson, he exclaimed, “This is Pickering, I swear.” From Octavius Pickering, *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, i, 546-549. This is known variously as the “Pickering” or “Army” plan.

To a non-commissioned officer and soldier	100	“
To a director of the military hospitals	850	“
To chief physician and purveyor, each	500	“
To physicians, surgeons, and apothecary, each	450	“
To regimental surgeons and assistants to the surveyor and apothecary, each	400	“
To hospital and regimental surgeon's mates, each	300	“

3. That all associators who shall actually settle in the new state within one year after the purchase shall be effected, and notice given by Congress or the committee of the associators that the same is ready for settlement (such notice to be published in the newspapers of all the United States), shall receive such additional quantities of land as to make their respective rights in the whole to contain the following number of acres, to wit:

A major-general	2,400	acres.
A brigadier-general	2,200	“
A colonel	2,000	“
A lieutenant-colonel	1,800	“
A major	1,600	“
A captain	1,400	“
A lieutenant	1,200	“
An ensign or cornet	1,000	“
A sergeant	700	“
Other non-commissioned officers and soldiers, each	600	“
And fifty acres more for each member of a family besides the head of it.		

4. That the rights of the officers in the medical department be increased in like manner on the same condition.

5. That all officers in the other staff departments, who shall actually settle in the new State within the time above limited, shall receive rights of land in the proportions last stated, on an equitable comparison of their stations with the ranks of the officers of the line and the medical staff.

6. That this increased provision of lands shall extend to all officers of the line and staff, and to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who during the present war have performed in the whole three years' service, whether in service or not at the close of the war, provided they present their claims and become actual settlers in the new State by the time above limited.

7. These surplus rights being secured, all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the State and disposed of for the common good; as for laying out roads, building bridges, erecting public buildings, establishing schools and academies, defraying the expenses of government, and other public uses.

8. That every grantee shall have a house built and — acres of land cleared on his right within — years, or the same shall be forfeited to the State.

9. That, to enable the associators to undertake the settlement of the new State, the United States defray the expenses of the march thither, furnish the necessary utensils of husbandry, and such live stock as shall be indispensably requisite for com-

mening the settlement, and subsistence for three years, to wit, one ration of bread and meat per day to each man, woman and child; and to every soldier a suit of clothes annually; the cost of these articles to be charged to the accounts of arrearages due to the members of the association respectively.

10. That for the security of the State against Indians, every officer and soldier go armed, the arms to be furnished by the United States and charged to the accounts of arrearages. Ammunition to be supplied in the same way.

11. That a Constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

12. That the associators, so assembled, agree on such general rules as they shall deem necessary for the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the preservation of peace and good order in the State; to have the force of laws during the space of two years, unless an Assembly of the State, formed agreeably to the Constitution, shall sooner repeal them.

13. That the State, so constituted, shall be admitted into the confederacy of the United States, and entitled to all the benefits of the Union, in common with the other members thereof.

14. That, at the above-mentioned meeting of the associators, delegates be chosen to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to take their seats as soon as the new State shall be erected.

15. That the associators, having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to, it being also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted, it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve their plantations, or follow their occupations, during the first twenty-one years; so that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them; especially that the children, when grown up, may be on a footing with other children whose parents, at the original formation of the State, were in similar circumstances with those of the former.

IX

FINANCIER'S OR BLAND'S PLAN FOR ORGANIZATION OF WESTERN TERRITORY (1783)³⁰

Whereas, It has pleased the Almighty Disposer of human affairs to put a period to a long and bloody war, which has terminated in the establishment of independence to these United States, and *whereas* it is the duty as well as the wish of congress to remove

³⁰ Motion of Theodorick Bland in Congress, June 5, 1783. — George Bancroft, *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i, 312-314.

as speedily as possible every cause which might disturb the tranquility and harmony of these states, so happily united in one great political interest, as well as to reward the brave and virtuous who have by their valor and perseverance established that independence and strengthened that union, and to provide for the future government and prosperity of these states —

Resolved, Therefore, that congress will and do hereby accept the cession of territory made to the United States by the act of the assembly of Virginia, having date the [blank] day of [blank], 178[blank], on the terms therein stipulated; except so far as relates to a specific guarantee of the remaining territory reserved by the said state.

Resolved, That, if the aforesaid acceptance shall be agreeable to the said state, and they shall be willing to withdraw the said stipulation, and if the consent and approbation of the army of the United States shall be signified to the following act of the United States in congress assembled, then and in that case the following ordinance shall begin to take effect and be in full force for all and every the purposes herein mentioned, viz:

It is hereby ordained by the United States in congress assembled, that, in lieu of the commutation for the half pay of the army, and in lieu of the arrearages due to the officers and soldiers of the armies of the United States, and of all other debts due to the said officers and soldiers who now constitute the said army, or who have served therein for a term not less than three years during the war, and for the representatives of such officers and soldiers who shall

have died in the service, that there shall be assigned and set apart a tract of unlocated or vacant territory laying within the boundaries of the United States, as ceded by the preliminary articles between Great Britain and America, and bounded as follows, viz,: (here insert the boundaries); that the said territory shall be laid off in districts not exceeding two degrees of latitude and three degrees of longitude each, and each district in townships not exceeding [blank] miles square; that the lines of the said districts shall be run at the expense of the United States by surveyors appointed by the United States in congress assembled, and amenable to congress for their conduct; that each of the said districts shall, when it contains 20,000 male inhabitants, become and ever after be and constitute a separate, independent, free and sovereign state, and be admitted into the union as such with all the privileges and immunities of those states which now compose the union; that each officer and soldier now in the army of the United States shall be entitled to and shall have a grant for thirty acres of the said land for every dollar which shall appear to be due to such officer or soldier from the United States for his services in the army, over and above the bounty promised by an act of congress of the [blank] day of [blank], 1776. And, moreover, that every officer and soldier who shall make it appear that he has served three years in the army of the United States, shall be entitled to receive a grant of the said lands equal to the bounties promised to officers and soldiers serving during the war, in lieu of all debts due for their services, half pay, etc. Where the said debts have

been liquidated, they shall be entitled to receive a grant of thirty acres for every dollar ascertained to be due to them in like manner as the officers and soldiers whose commutation and arrearages have been liquidated. And be it further ordained, that out of every hundred thousand acres so granted there shall be reserved as a domain for the use of the United States ten thousand acres, each of which ten thousand acres shall remain forever a common property of the United States, unalienable but by the consent of the United States in congress assembled; the rents, shares, profits and produce of which lands, when any such shall arise, to be appropriated to the payment of the civil list of the United States, the erecting of frontier forts, the founding of seminaries of learning, and the surplus after such purposes (if any) to be appropriated to the building and equipping a navy, and to no other use or purpose whatever. And be it further ordained, that the said lands so granted to the officers and soldiers shall be free of all taxes and quit-rents for the space of seven years from the passing this ordinance.

X

GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM'S "THOUGHTS ON A PEACE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" [1783]⁸¹

America is by no means to place her principle security in Walled Towns and the Multitude of her Fortresses; nor is she in time of peace to be at the

⁸¹ From an original manuscript of the author in the Library of

expençe of an Regular Army sufficient for defence of every Part of her Extensive Teritorys should they be invaded—yet unless her Harbours, at least the principle ones, are secured by Fortresses and Small Garisons, her seaports are liable to be surprised plundered and Burnt or laid under Contribution by a few Ships of War, and if aided by land forces an enemy might in Some of them So establish him Self in a very short time as to render it Very Difiquelt to Dislodge him—her Frontears should also be So Secured by Forts and garisons as at least might retard the opperation of an Enemy till the Forces of the Country could be collected to oppose him

among the Seports; New york Claims the first attention No Spot on the Continent in the possession of an enemy can So much Injure the United States as that, yet in my opinion, with a very little expence compared to the Importance of the object it may be rendered perfectly Secure against any Surprize or Insult from the most formidable Fleet that ever yet was in its Harbour

Falmouth in the provence of Main is the next Harbour eastward that ought to Claim the attention of Congress, it is in the very Neighbourhood of Hallifax have Severel Tribes of Indians on the North & the Country but thinly Setteled the Harbour is deep and spacious, the Town on a peninsula and Should an Enemy Establish him self their the whole Eastern Country would be greatly Indangered

Marietta College, exactly as written in 1783. The lay reader must not infer from the reproduction of this duplicate copy of the original manuscript that General Putnam's orthography was, in any marked degree, unusual. A comparison of the Sparks's and Ford's edition of Washington's writings proves what editors can do by way of modernizing manuscripts. Cf. Doc. XI by way of illustration.

Penopscot or Major Bagaduce is Still further East has also a spacious harbour and is the Source I am told from whence the Eastern States are to expect the most of their Masts Spars and Lumber —

From New york Southerd Charles Town and Georgia are the first that I suppose are intiteld to the notice of Congress in respect of Garisons and Troops they have the Spaniards on the Right and Savages in their Rear are properly the Frontear of the Empire on that Quarter and I am Told are thinly peopeled, the other Harbours and Seports are too Numerous for them all to admit of Continantal Establishments the Expence to the several States in secureing or Fortifing them may be Nearly Equel in propotion to their welth, and their owne Immediate Intrist will Induce them to attend to the matter Besides carying the general Suystim too far may create a Jalousy in Some of them but the Southern and Eastern Fronters together with N york and the post on the Hudson Should always remain in the hands of Congress but if any of them Should be So foolish as to neglect So Importent a object and leve them Selves liable to the Insults of every Pirate or Surprise of an open Enemy the Damage to the United States, in General, would be much Less then for Charles Town and Georgia on the one hand or the provence of Main on the other to be Seeazed on by Surprise because these places might not be recovered through a long War whereas none of the others could reasonably expect to be so unfortunate

But in Point of Importence, Next to the Citty and Harbour of New york — the North River or the Communication between New york and Canady ought to

Clame the first attention, for whoever attempts the Conquest of America, will in my opinion, if he acts right, endeavor to establish him self on the Hudson and by a Chain of Posts in that Quarter to Seperate the Eastern from the Midle and Southern States, on this River then Congress Should always keep an eye and Never Suffer an Enemy Foreign or Domistic to fix him self Quietly on any part of it, or the Lakes towards Canada

West Point is perhaps as well Sittuated for the Grand Arsenal of america as any Place whatever and by Dismanteling most of the out Works a much Smaller Garison will be required then in its present State—they should consist cheiffy of Artillery men—Including also Some artificers—Here Should all the Cariges and apperatus for the artillery be made here should the art of Gunnery Fortification &c &c be Taught and from hence Should the artillery Companys (detached) to other Posts be regurly releaved at lest one in Two years, I consider Stoney Point as an appandage to west Point whither the former remain in its present State or a regular fortification be built there, which is a Subject worth Consideration—Besides West Point there will Undoubtedly be other Arsinals Established both East and west that will require Small guards—

In order to prevent a Supprize from Canada by way of Lake Champlain if the Sittuation will admit a Fort Should be built at Wind Mill Point Pont au Fear [Point au Feu] or Some place near the 45th Degree of lattitude and the River or Lake So obstructed as to prevent the pasage of any British Vessell into it—

This matter I conceive to be worth attention, and examination, for if practicable in case of a War with Great Britton it will prevent their makeing them Selves Masters of the lakes and at the Same time it will give Protection to the Country called Vermont with the Inhabitents near the Lake and aid us in Introduceing an army into Canada,

In the mean time it will be a means of Checking any Illiset Trade in that Quarter, Interrupt the wicked Corrispondence and be a good means to prevent the revolt of the Vermontears should they have it in Contemplation, and it will also further any Corrispondence we may wish to hold with the Inhabitants of Cannada—

But if no place can be found further Nothward, then Crown Point Sutable for a Fortification that Should be fixed on the lake there is esily obstructed and the Sittuation Elligable a good Fortress with a Small Garison Some where in that Quarter is necessary and will be able to prevent any Sudden Erruption from Canada into the Provence of New york a Circumstance by all means to be guarded against—the Idea of a post Some where on Lake Champlain will make it Necessary to have two Intermediate ones between that and Albany for the lodgment and Security of the Stoars that may be Sent northward Viz one at Fort George and another at the Landing on the further end of lake George but a Block House or even a Stockade with a very few Troops will be sufficient

Albany will no Doubt requier Sone [some] Troops as it will be the place for lodging at least for a time

the Stoars designed for the Northern and Western Frontiers

To keep the Western Savages in awe to protect and regulate our Trade with them and prevent any Insidious Practice of our British or Spanish Neighbors as far as posable, Some Fortresses and a Small regular Establishment is absolutely necessary Pirticularly at Fort Stanwix Oswego Niagary Fort and Caring Place — Detroit and Michilimackinac on the Lakes — Illinois Fort Massac Post Vincent Fort Pitt and other Posts that it may be found necessary to Garison on the Frontears of the Midle and Southern States

the British used to Send their Supplys to Nagara and Detroit from Cannada & of consequence ware under no necessety of keeping a Post at aswego and I beleve they had none at Fort Stanwix, but in our sittuation if we wish to keep up a Communication with Niagara and Detroit by way of Lake ontario a Post at Oswego is Indespensible for the lodgment to the Stoars Sent from Albany for the Supply of the Western World as well the Security of the [Peltry] that may be brought from that Quarter in return

Fort Stanwix will also be a place of Some Consequence for the like purposes and for the protection of the Convoyes and Trade from Savage Insult Several other Small post on the Communication between Albany and Oswego will undoubtedly be necessary, to Secure our Selves against any Surprize from the British to awe the Savages in those Quarters to protect the French Setlers about Detroit and Incour-

age their Emigration from Cannada our Force in the Neigh bour hood of the Grate lakes, even In time of peace, Should be much grater then what the British used to keep

In time of War a navel Superioretty on the Lakes may be more likely to fall to the Share of the British then to us; or at least our Superioretty may be uncertain I wish to Suggest the propriety of opening Some other Communication with Lake Erie, then that through Lake ontario, by which Niagara Detroit &c &c may Recive Supplys, and Besids the Idea of the British haveing a Navel Superioretty in Lake ontario Should Niagara by any Misfortune be Surprized and taken with it we must loose the whole Western World unless Some other communication is opened with it then the present

This Communication may be made from Fort Pitt to Presque Isle but I think the most Elligable is from Fort Pitt either by Kishkuske and Cayahoga to Lake Erie or down the River from Fort Pitt to yallow Creek from thence by Tuscarawas to Cayahoga, but I would suggest for consideration a much more Extensive proposition. Viz a Post at the Mouth of Cayahoga another at the 1 mile Portage between the head of Cayahoga River and of Muskingum at Tuscarawas one at the Forks of Muskingum or Dellaware Town below a 4th at Wills Town a 5th Mouth of Muskingum a 6th Hockhocking a 7th Great Kanhawa an 8th [blank] Some Such chain of Posts in that Quarter I conceive would give Such Incouragement not only to those who have lands on this Side the ohio but also to Such as may obtain

grants on the other Side as would Induce such Emigration to that Quarter that within a few years the Country west of the Alleghany Mountains would not only be able to Feed all our Garisons in the Western World but render that whole Frontear perfectly Secure against every forreign Enemy and the Savages about the Warters of the Mohawk Susquehenne Oswego and Ohio would be Induced to be have very submissively or move farther afield —

The expence to Build the Chain of Posts will be very Small . . . a good Stockade with Flankers instead of Basteons Built in form of Block Houses will be abundently sufficient in all Instances except that at the Mouth of the Cayahoka which will requier more attention

Nor will it increse the Number of Troops necessary for the general Protection because the Garisons of Fort Pitt Detroit Illinois &c &c may be as much less, then otherwise may be necessary, as this proposed chain of posts would requier to Garison them properly

one Regiment of Infentry on the present Establishment would be Quite sufficient to garison the whole and in a few years a Much less number as the Settlers would undoubtedly in the first Instance plant them selves near the Several garisons for the Sake of their protection and would aid in their defence

Haveing made these observations let me next propose for consideration the Following Establishment Viz Six Regiments of Infentry on the Establishment of october 1780 one Regt of 12 Companys of

Artillery and one Company of Artificers this establishment is deduced from the following Detail of Post and garison

	Company Infentry	Company Artillery	Comp Artie
West Point and down to New york & ^s	4 (5)	6	1
to Shut an enemy out of lake Champlain or Stop him for a time }	4	1	"
at Albany and the Commun[icatio]n } Northward — — }	1 (2)	"	"
in Provence of Main and } Maggizene in Eastward }	9 (4)	1	"
North & South Carolin Georgio } and Magazeans in that Quarter }	9 (4)	1	"
Niagara 4 oswego 3(4) Fort Stanwix and } Communtin with Albany 2 Infentry }	9 (10)	1	
Detroit and its Dependency	5 (4)	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
Michiclamackanac and Dependencis	4	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Fort Pitt ^s Massac ^s Illinois Post ^s } Post H — [?] 8 }	9	1	
<i>Vincent and Magazens in Virginia</i>			
Total s ^{1a}	54	12	1

But if the Chain of Posts in proposed [plan] from Cayahka to Kanhawa be established then the following arrangement in that Quarter may be adopted
Viz

^{s1a} Later estimates are in parenthesis; words in italics were erased, Post H — (Harrodsburg?) being substituted.

Detroit —	3 (2)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Michielamaackanac —	3 (2)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mouth of Cayahoca	2	$\frac{1}{8}$
Head of Cayahoca River or Portage	1	
Tuscarawas — —	1	
Forks of Muskengum — —	1	
Wills Town — — —	1	
Mouth of Muskengum —	1	
Mouth of Hockhocking —	1	
Grate Kanhawa — —	1	
Post Vincent — —	1	
Illinois —	1 (2)	$\frac{1}{8}$
Fort Massac —	1	
Fort Pitt and Magazene in Virgin	1	$\frac{1}{8}$

which make the Same Total as on the other plan the number in each Regt of Infentry and the artillery Company to be the Same as the Establishment of October 1780. Except that the Regiment Staff should always be included in the number of Platoon or Company officer Such an Establish may be sufficient to give the alarm and prevent the Progress of an Enemy for a Time especially on the first breaking out of a War. which is all that can be expected from them, and all that Congress ought to attempt by a proper Regular Establishment To be ready to meet an Enemy on the first Breaking out of a War with an army of Respectable Troops their Should

be an Establishment of a regular Continantal Militia — the Following Scheem is Suggested for Consideration

The Pay and Subsistence of the officir to be the Same as at present First because I conceive it is Below that of the British or that of any other Nation when all their Emolumets are taken into Consideration 2d ly Because whoever engages as an officir in a peace Establishment is Supposed to make Arms his profession for life and the present Establishment of pay and subsistence is quite little enough to give Bread to a Man agreeably to the rank in Life which an officer is Supposed to hold

The pay of the Noncomsd officirs and privets Should not exceed 5 Dollars per month or one Sixth of a Dollar per day out of which one third Should be stoped to provide him with a Coate wescot Breeches Shirts and other Necesseres, and all arearages to be annually Setteled and paid the pay of officirs and Solder if posable to be weakly

The officers to be taken in the first Instance in as near a propotion as posable from the Several States (not Rank but age Merit abilities and Constitution Should Determin the Choise) But it ware to be wished that in future State lines may be totally laid aside and in order to Introduce such a Suystim the pirticular officers to Compleat the Established Reg^{ts} being fixed on in the formation of those Regiments, officers who now belong to different State lines Should be Incorporated into the Same Coars as much as posable this would not only be a means of removing those local prejudices among officers which

are too apt to prevail but would make the distrebu-
tion of the three years men now in Service among
the Regimets thus formed much more elligable

Such an arrangement of officers Such an Incorpo-
ration of Men and Such a Detaching them to the
different parts of the Empire will I think be Some
means of Uniteing and Sementing the whole

Scheem of Continantal Militia

All abled Bodied Men between the age of 18 & 25
year (not Exempt by any law already made in the
respective Stats from Military Service) Shall be en-
rolled and liable to Service as Continantal Militia.
prehaps those of age between 20 & 25 may be thought
more Sutable out of them Shall be raised 24 Regi-
ments each Regement Sixteen Companys—— Sub-
divided into 4 Battallion of 4 Companys each each
to consist of

{	1 Captain
	1 Liutent
	1 Ensigne
	5 Sergnt
	3 Corporel
	1 Drumer
	1 Fifer
{	65 privet

Staff to each Battallion	{	
to be taken from among the		1 Adjutnt
Company officer ocationly		1 Qr Master
for which their shall be no		1 Sert Major
allowance but that		1 Qr M Sert
of being [accoutered?]		

Regimental Field & Staff	{	1 Colonel
		2 Lieutn Colo.
		2 Majers
		1 Adjutant
		1 Qu Master
		1 Pay Master
		1 Surgeon
		1 Mate
		1 Ser ^t Maj ^r
		1 Qu M Se ^t
		1 Drum Maj ^r
1 Fife Maj ^r		
24 Regiment on Such an Establish- ment 29448 1372 [1392] <u>28066</u> [28056]	{	24 Colonels
		48 L ^t Colonels
		48 Majors
		384 Captains
		384 Lieutenant
		384 Ensignes
		24 Adjutant
		24 Pay Masters
		24 Q Masters
		24 Surgeons
		1372[1392] 24 Mats
		24 Sert Major
		24 Q M Seg ^{ts}
		24 Drum Major
24 Fife Major		
1080 Serjents		
384 Drumers		
384 Fiffers		
26112 Rank & File		
Total Includeing officers		<u>29448</u>

The officers Should all be Commissioned by Congress and be on the Same footing as to Rank as those in actual Service but in case of resignation or removal out of the dept they shall loose their Rank or pretensions too it in Reason the Regimet Should be all numbered, with out destinction of States next after those on the Peace Establishment and to take their Rank in the first Instance by lot Drawn for them in Congress the Number of Men to be raised in each State Shall be assessed by Congress once in every Seven year by the Same rate of propotion by which the Continental Taxes are laid. the year last preceeding Such assessment the Several Stats Shall each be divided into as many Districts as it is required to furnish regimets which regimental dept Shall be Subdivided into Battallions Districts once in every Seven year Viz the next year after that wherein the State asesmt for men is made by Congress each Battallion District shall again be subdivided into Company Districts Commissioned officers for such Company Shall reside with in their owne Districts The Fild and regimental Staff officirs Shall be inhabitent of or residents within the District of the Regiment or Battallion to which they are appointed all the Fild Commissioned & Staff officers of a Regiment Shall be appointed by the Executive athorety of the State to which they belong and be Commissiond by Congress, on the removal of an officir out of his District his place must be Considered as Vacant and the vacancy to be filled by Succession of Rank from the Colo to the Ensigne which Rule shall be adopted for filling all Vacancys but the appontment of all Ensigns Shall be in the Ex-

ecutive othorety of the State unless they should neglect Such appointment for the Space of three months after being duly certified of the Vacancy by the Col^o or Commanding officer of the Reg^t which he Should be obliged to do within one month after Such Vacancy happened in which case Congriss to have the right of Such appointment

the company Districts being thus fixed the Captain or Commanding officer of the Company Shall annually between the 15th and 31st day of December Make out a list with the ages of all the able Bodied men within his District liable to Bare arms in the Continantal Militia and haveing apponted his Sergeants Corporals Drums & Fife he shall Select Seventy of the youngest that remains on the afore Said list (and return the Names of the Rest to the Commanding officir of the State Militia within whose District they respective reside) Sixty five of the Seventy taken as above are to compose the privet of Such Company for the Insuig year and the other five are to be considered as supenumeraries and only liable to be called on Duty in case of Sickness Death or removal of any of the Fixed Company

All able Bodied Men (except Such as are exempt from Military duty by the Laws of the State within which they reside) between the age of Eighteen and twenty five years must be liable to Service in the Continantal Militia and as Such perform all the Servis required of them

The Contnantal Militia being thus formed they Shall be liable (in Companys or Squads as Shall be thought most convenient) to spend as many days in Military Exercises and Disepline as other Militia

are liable to perform in Companys and in Battallion as Many as other State Militia are liable to by Regiment for which they shall have no allowance and for these exercises and to be always ready in case of the most Sudden alarm they Shall be provided with Arms ammunition and accoutrements the Same as other Militia by Law ought to be provided with. in addition to which they Shall always be provided with two white Hunting Shirts and two pairs of White lining overalls with a Military hat or Cap and Gaiters all of which shall be agreeable to the order of the Commanding officer of the Regiment

In addition to these Duties this Militia Shall in time of peace actually take the Field Some time the Month of September annually where they Shall Continue thirty days and attend to the learning all or part of Discipline and the Duties of an army as much as in time of War—they Shall be Collected for this purpose either by Regiment Brigades or Division as may be thought most convenient for the good of Service but during this period they are to be paid at the Same Rate and Subsisted in the Same Manner as the Regiments on the Peace Establishment are—Besides this

on the Breaking out of a War or when ever Congress Shall Deem it Necessary they Shall take the Field upon which they shall be furnished Paid and Subsisted in the Same Manner as shall be provided for the Established Regiments. Besides which the Noncommissioned officers and privates Shall receive five Dollars Bounty annually So long as they Shall be held in Service. on the foregoing Scheme after the first formation of the Company the Captain or

Commanding officer at the Close of every year will have ocation only to Obtain a list of all able bodied men belonging to His Company Distr &c who have within that year arrived at the age of 18 he will then Discharge So many of his Disbled and Senior Soldiers as to reduce his Company to the Standard and the Same Rule is to be observed in Recruiting the Company in time of War as of peace with this exception that in time of War the Captain is not to Judge of the Debility of those who may claim a Discharge on that accout—But the Recruits for the Company or those lads who have arrived at Eighteen within the past year Shall between the first and Seventh Day of January be Inspected and Mustered in the Same maner as recruit for the Established Regiments. and haveing Joyned the Company the Same Number Shall be discharged the oldest Soldiers always being Intiteled to Claim it as their right except where Invaleds of the Same Companys, present, them Selves of whose Claims Cognizence Shall be taken in the Same maner as is don in the Established Regiment in like cases

by this Scheem every able Bodied man is liable to Bair arms as a Contnantal Soldier at 18 years of age and its posable that he continue So for Seven year but as the Continal Militia and the established Regiments will not altogath amount to more than $\frac{1}{6}$ of the ratable Poles and not More the $\frac{1}{6}$ of those liable to bare arms the Proberbility is that no man will Save more than three year at farthest

I have made no Destintion between Rich or Poor in my Calculation in the Formations of the Companys one reason is because I think the Establishing a Reguler Militia on Such a Footing is utterly

Impratable consistent with the Idear of the Purpos of a Standing army in the defence of the Country

to give force and spirit to any Measure of this Sort it is Necessry to make it as Simple as posable Besides when we want Men we must look where they are and when money is wanted let us look where it is to be found the Poor man can yeald personal Service, but if this is not Sufficent to answer the objection that may be raised on this Head— let each State make provision to equalize the money part upon the Pools and estates of each Company District. but no [one] is to be excused from yealding the Personal Service required of him unless he provides a Substitute

In order that they may be always ready to take the Field properly armed and acoutterd on the Shortst Notice and in order that they may be perfectly Uniform in their Arms and acoutrement a Sufficent number of Arms &c Shall (at the Expençe of the United States) be delivrd to the Col^o or Commanding officer of the Regt and deposited Nere the place of randevvos two good chest shall be provided for each Companys arms in which they are to be cearfully Secured on the Regiments takeing the field in the month of September the arms to be delivrd to them the Captain or Commanding officer being accountable for those of his Company as the Colo is for those of his Reg^t

In order to give Life & Motion to this Complex army of Continantal Regular and Militia their must be one Commander in Cheif from whome all ordors for the Continantal Militia as well as the Regular Regiments are Mediatly or Immediately to Issue the Same in peace as in time of War

Their Shall for the Militia Regiment be Six Major Gen^l but no Brigadiers & the Col^o when in the Field recive Brigadier Subsistence but Colonels pay only the Regt will in point of divs * * as Brigads

The inspeter General of the Established Army Should also be So to the Contints Militia and he will appoint as many Deputys as may be thought proper to Muster and Inspect the Continantal Militia for the Month they are out and Certifie the Rolls accordingly which Shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United Stats

the Pay Master is to have a proper allowanc f[or] his Servis in obtaining and paying the money to the Men, and the Qr Master for his expence in takeing care repairing Transeporting &c the arms accortment &c &c

every Soldier is to be charged with any abuses or damage do to his arms or accortments while in his Possestion or loss of ammunition and S[t]opage made on the pay roll agreable to the Judgment of the Field offi[cer] with the Int[erested?] Capt who are at the end of every month to make an Inspection of the Same

XI

RUFUS PUTNAM'S PLAN FOR A WESTERN STATE (1783)²²

NEW WINDSOR, 16th June, 1783.

Sir:— As it is very uncertain how long it may be before the honorable Congress may take the petition

²² This is General Putnam's letter to Washington accompanying

of the officers of the army for lands between the Ohio River and Lake Erie into consideration, or be in a situation to decide thereon, the going to Philadelphia to negotiate the business with any of its members, or committee to whom the petition may be referred, is a measure none of the petitioners will think of undertaking. The part which I have taken in promoting the petition is well known,²² and therefore needs no apology, when I inform you that the signers expect that I will pursue measures to have it laid before Congress. Under these circumstances, I beg leave to put the petition into your Excellency's hands, and ask, with the greatest assurance, your patronage of it. That Congress may not be wholly unacquainted with the motives of the petitioners, I beg your indulgence while I make a few observations on the policy and propriety of granting the prayer of it, and making such arrangements of garrisons in the western quarter as shall give effectual protection to the settlers and encourage emigration to the new government, which, if they meet your approbation, and the favor not too great, I must request your Excellency will give them your support, and cause them to be forwarded with the petition to the President of Congress, in order that when the peti-

the Petition of the Officers at Newburg given in these *Collections*, i, xxvi-xxviii. With the background of his keen analysis of the military needs of the West given in preceding pages in mind, his presentation of a western state along the lines of the Pickering or "Army" plan is very interesting, particularly as he goes all other participants one better in forecasting the troubles with Spain on the Mississippi and the second war with England. — Cutler, *Manassah Cutler*, i, 167-172.

²² Chairman of the Newburg petitioners. The reasons for Putnam's selection we have noted, i, xxv.

tion is taken up, Congress, or their committee, may be informed on what principles the petition is grounded. I am, sir, among those who consider the cession of so great a tract of territory to the United States in the western world as a very happy circumstance and of great consequence to the American Empire. Nor have I the least doubt but Congress will pay an early attention to securing the allegiance of the natives, as well as provide for the defense of that country, in case of a war with Great Britain or Spain.

One great means of securing the allegiance of the natives, I take to be, the furnishing them such necessities as they shall stand in need of, and in exchange receiving their furs and skins. They are become so accustomed to the use of firearms, that I doubt if they could gain a subsistence without them, at least they will be very sorry to be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of using the bow and arrow as the only means for killing their game, and so habituated are they to the woolen blanket, etc., that an absolute necessity alone will prevent their making use of them. This consideration alone is, I think, to prove the necessity of establishing such factories as may furnish an ample supply to these wretched creatures; for unless they are furnished by the subjects of the United States, they will undoubtedly seek elsewhere, and like all other people form their attachment where they have their commerce, and then in case of a war, will always be certain to aid our enemies.

Therefore, if there were no advantages in view but that of attaching them to our interest, I think

good policy will dictate the measure of carrying on a commerce with these people; but when we add to this the consideration of the profit arising from the Indian trade in general, there can not, I presume, be a doubt that it is the interest of the United States to make as early provision for the encouragement and protection of it as possible. For these and many other obvious reasons, Congress will, no doubt, find it necessary to establish garrisons at Oswego, Niagara, Michilimackinac, Illinois, and many other places in the western world.

The Illinois and all the posts that shall be established on the Mississippi may undoubtedly be furnished by way of the Ohio with provisions at all times, and with goods whenever a war shall interrupt the trade with New Orleans. But in case of a war with Great Britain, unless a communication is open between the River Ohio, Lake Erie, Niagara, Detroit, and all posts seated on the Great Lakes will inevitably be lost without such communication, for a naval superiority on Lake Ontario, or the seizing on Niagara, will subject the whole country bordering on the lakes to the will of the enemy. Such a misfortune will put it out of the power of the United States to furnish the natives, and necessity will again oblige them to take an active part against us.

Where and how this communication is to be opened shall next be considered. If Captain Hutchins²⁴ and a number of other map makers are not out in their calculations, provisions may be sent from the settlements on the south side of the Ohio by the

²⁴ Thomas Hutchins, *New Map of the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*. . . London, 1778.

Muskingum or Scioto to Detroit, or even to Niagara at a less expense than from Albany by the Mohawk, to those places. To secure such communication (by the Scioto, all circumstances considered, will be the best), let a chain of posts be established.³⁵ These forts should be built on the bank of the river, if the ground will admit, and about twenty miles distant from each other, and on this plan the Scioto communication will require ten or eleven stockaded forts, flanked by blockhouses, and one company of men will be a sufficient garrison for each, except the one at the portage, which will require more attention in the construction and a larger number of men to garrison it; but, besides supplying the garrisons of the great lakes with provisions, etc., we ought to take into consideration the protection that such an arrangement will give to the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. I say New York, as we shall undoubtedly extend our settlements and garrisons from the Hudson to Oswego. This done, and a garrison posted at Niagara, whoever will inspect the maps must be convinced that all the Indians living on the waters of the Mohawk, Oswego, Susquehanna, and Alleghany Rivers, and in all the country south of the Lakes Ontario and Erie, will be encircled in such a manner as will effectually secure their allegiance and keep them quiet, or oblige them to quit their country.

Nor will such an arrangement of posts from the Ohio to Lake Erie be any additional expense, for

³⁵ It was by means of such a chain of forts northward from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) that the conquest of the Northwest was accomplished, 1790-1794.

unless this gap is shut, notwithstanding the garrisons on the Lakes and from Oswego to the Hudson, yet the frontier settlers on the Ohio by Fort Pitt to the Susquehanna, and all the country south of the Mohawk, will be exposed to savage insult, unless protected by a chain of garrisons, which will be far more expensive than the arrangement proposed, and at the same time the protection given to these states will be much less complete; besides, we should not confine our protection to the present settlements, but carry the idea of extending them at least as far as the Lakes Ontario and Erie.

These Lakes form such a natural barrier that, when connected with the Hudson and Ohio by the garrisons proposed, settlements, in every part of the states of New York and Pennsylvania, may be made with the utmost safety, so that these states must be deeply interested in the measure, as well as Virginia, who will, by the same arrangement, have a great part of its frontiers secured and the rest much strengthened; nor is there a state in the Union but will be greatly benefited by the measure considered in another point of view, for, without any expense except a small allowance of purchase money to the natives, the United States will have within their protection 17,500,000 acres of very fine lands to dispose of as they may think proper.

But I hasten to mention some of the expectations which the petitioners have respecting the conditions on which they hope to obtain the lands—this was not proper to mention in the body of the petition, especially as we pray for grants to all members of the army who wish to take up lands in that quarter.

The whole tract is supposed to contain about 17,418,240 acres, and will admit of 756 townships of six miles square, allowing to each township 3,040 acres for the ministry,³⁶ schools, waste lands, rivers, ponds, and highways; then each township will contain, of settlers' lands, 20,000 acres, and in the whole, 15,120,000 acres. The land to which the army is entitled by the resolves of Congress referred to in the petition, according to my estimate, will amount to 2,106,850 acres, which is about the eighth part of the whole; for the survey of this they expect to be at no expense, nor do they expect to be under any obligation to settle these lands, or do any duty to secure their title to them; but, in order to induce the army to become settlers in the new government, the petitioners hope Congress will make a further grant of lands, on condition of settlement, and have no doubt but that honorable body will be as liberal to all those who are not provided for by their own states as New York has been to the officers and soldiers who belong to that state, which, if they do, it will require about 8,000,000 of acres to complete the army, and about 7,000,000 acres will remain for sale. That the petitioners, at least some of them, are much opposed to the monopoly of lands, and wish to guard against large patents being granted to individuals, as in their opinion such a mode is very injurious to a country, and greatly retards its settlement, and whenever such patents are tenanted, it throws too much power into the hands of a

³⁶ This is the first public advocacy of reservations in the West in favor of the ministry. This idea was embodied in the Land Ordinance of 1785 and created the "ministerial lands" reservations.

few. For these and many other obvious reasons, the petitioners hope no grants will be made but by townships of six miles square, or six by twelve, or six by eighteen miles, to be subdivided by the proprietors to six miles square, that being the standard on which they wish all calculations may be made, and that officers and soldiers, as well as those who petition for charters on purchase, may form their associations on one uniform principle, as to number of persons or rights to be contained in a township, with the exception only that, when the grant is made for reward of services already done, or on condition of settlement, if the officers petition with the soldiers for a particular township, the soldiers shall have one right only to a captain's three, and so in proportion with commissioned officers of every grade.

These, sir, are the principles which gave rise to the petition under consideration; the petitioners, at least some of them, conceive that sound policy dictates the measure, and that Congress ought to lose no time in establishing some such chain of posts as has been hinted at, and in procuring the tract of country petitioned for of the natives, for the moment this is done, and agreeable terms offered to the settlers, many of the petitioners are determined, not only to become adventurers, but actually to remove themselves to this country; and there is not the least doubt but other valuable citizens will follow their example, and the probability is that the country between Lake Erie and Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of these United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and

the lakes as to banish forever the idea of our western territory falling under the dominion of any European power, the frontier of the old states will be effectually secured from savage alarms, and the new will have little to fear from their insults.

I have the honor to be, sir, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's more obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed)

RUFUS PUTNAM.

GEN. WASHINGTON.

XII

WASHINGTON ON THE ARMY PETITION (1783)³⁷

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH, June 17, 1783.

Sir:—I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency, for the consideration of Congress, a petition from a large number of officers of the army, in behalf of themselves and such other officers and soldiers of the continental army as are entitled to rewards in lands, and may choose to avail themselves of any privileges and grants which may be obtained in consequence of the present solicitation. I inclose also the copy of a letter from Brig.-General Putnam, in which the sentiments and expectations of the petitioners are more fully explained, and in which the ideas of occupying the posts in the western country will be found to correspond very

³⁷ Washington's letter to the President of the Continental Congress accompanying the Officers' Petition received by him from General Putnam.—The original is found in W. C. Ford, *Writings of Washington*, X, 267.

nearly with those I have some time since communicated to a committee of Congress, in treating of the subject of a peace establishment. I will beg leave to make a few more observations on the general benefits of the location and settlement now proposed, and then submit the justice and policy of the measure to the wisdom of Congress.

Although I pretend not myself to determine how far the district of unsettled country, which is described in the petition, is free from the claim of every state, or how far this disposal of it may interfere with the views of Congress, yet it appears to me that this is the tract which, from local position and peculiar advantages, ought to be first settled in preference to any other whatever; and I am perfectly convinced that it can not be so advantageously settled by any other class of men, as by disbanded officers and soldiers of the army, to whom the faith of government hath long since been pledged, that lands should be granted at the expiration of the war in certain proportions, agreeably to their respective grades.

I am induced to give my sentiments thus freely on the advantages to be expected from this plan of colonization, because it would connect our governments with the frontiers, extend our settlements progressively, and plant a brave, a hardy, and respectable race of people as our advanced post, who would be always ready and willing (in case of hostility) to combat the savages and check their incursions. A settlement formed by such men would give security to our frontiers; the very name of it would awe the Indians, and more than probably

prevent the murder of many innocent families, which frequently, in the usual mode of extending our settlements and encroachments on the hunting grounds of the natives, fall the hapless victims to savage barbarity. Beside the emoluments which might be derived from the peltry trade at our factories, if such should be established, the appearance of so formidable a settlement in the vicinity of their towns (to say nothing of the barrier it would form against our other neighbors) would be the most likely means to enable us to purchase, upon equitable terms, of the aborigines, their right of pre-occupancy, and to induce them to relinquish our territories, and to remove into the illimitable regions of the west.

Much more might be said of the public utility of such a location, as well as of the private felicity it would afford to the individuals concerned in it. I will venture to say it is the most rational and practicable scheme which can be adopted by a great proportion of the officers and soldiers of our army, and promises them more happiness than they can expect in any other way. The settlers being in the prime of life, inured to hardship, and taught by experience to accommodate themselves in every situation, going in a considerable body, and under the patronage of government, would enjoy in the first instance advantages in procuring subsistence, and all the necessaries for a comfortable beginning, superior to any common class of emigrants, and quite unknown to those who have heretofore extended themselves beyond the Appalachian Mountains. They may expect, after a little perseverance, competence and independence for themselves, a pleasant

retreat in old age, and the fairest prospects for their children.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

XIII

WASHINGTON ON A WESTERN STATE (1783)²⁸

From the best information and maps of that [western] country it would appear, that the territory from the mouth of the Great Miami River, which empties into the Ohio, to its confluence with the Mad River, thence by a line to the Miami fort and village on the other Miami River, which empties into Lake Erie, and thence by a line to include the settlement of Detroit, would, with Lake Erie to the northward, Pennsylvania to the eastward, and the Ohio to the southward, form a government sufficiently extensive to fulfil all the public engagements, and to receive moreover a large population by emigrants; and to confine the settlement of the new State within these bounds would, in my opinion, be infinitely better, even supposing no disputes were to happen with the Indians, and that it was not necessary to guard against these other evils that have been enumerated, than to suffer the same number of people to roam over a country of at least five

²⁸ Extract from a letter to James Duane dated Rocky Hill, September 7, 1783. — Original in W. C. Ford, *Writings of Washington*, x, 310.

hundred thousand square miles, contributing nothing to the support, but much perhaps to the embarrassment, of the federal government.

Were it not for the purpose of comprehending the settlement of Detroit within the jurisdiction of the new government, a more compact and better shaped district for a State would be, for the line to proceed from the Miami fort and village along the river of that name to Lake Erie; leaving in that case the settlement of Detroit, and all the territory north of the rivers Miami and St. Joseph's between the Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan to form hereafter another State equally large, compact, and water-bounded.

At first view it may seem a little extraneous, when I am called on to give an opinion upon the terms of a peace proper to be made with the Indians, that I should go into the formation of new States. But the settlement of the western country, and making a peace with the Indians, are so analogous, that there can be no considerations of the one, without involving those of the other; for, I repeat it again, and I am clear in my opinion, that policy and economy point very strongly to the expediency of being upon good terms with the Indians, and the propriety of purchasing their lands in preference to attempting to drive them by force of arms out of their country; which, as we have already experienced, is like driving the wild beasts of the forest, which will return as soon as the pursuit is at an end, and fall perhaps upon those that are left there; when the gradual extension of our settlements will as certainly cause the savage, as the wolf, to retire; both being animals

of prey, though they differ in shape. In a word, there is nothing to be obtained by an Indian war, but the soil they live on, and this can be had by purchase at less expense, and without that bloodshed and those distresses, which helpless women and children are made partakers of in all kinds of disputes with them.

XIV

DAVID HOWELL ON WESTERN STATES (1784)³⁹

There are at present many great objects before Congress, but none of more importance, or which engage my attention more than that of the Western territory . . .

The western world opens an amazing prospect as a national fund, in my opinion; it is equal to our debt. As a source of future population and strength, it is a guaranty to our independence. As its inhabitants will be mostly cultivators of the soil, republicanism looks to them as its guardians.

When the states on the eastern shores, or Atlantic, shall have become populous, rich and luxurious, and ready to yield their liberties into the hands of a tyrant, the gods of the mountains will save us, for they will be stronger than the gods of the valleys. Astraea will take her flight from the tops of the Alleghany when she leaves the New World.

It is proposed to divide the country into fourteen new states, in the following manner. There are to

³⁹ Extract from a letter written by David Howell to Jonathan Arnold, dated Annapolis, February 21, 1784. — W. R. Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 478-482.

be three tiers of states:—One on the Atlantic, one on the Mississippi; and a middle tier. The middle tier is to be the smallest, and to form a balance betwixt the two more powerful ones. The western tier of states is to be bounded eastwardly by a meridional line drawn through the lowest point of the rapids of the river Ohio, and the eastern tier is to be bounded westwardly by a meridional line drawn through the west cape of the mouth of the great ————⁴⁰ from Lake Erie to the north boundary of South Carolina, where the middle tier of states ends, and permits South Carolina and Georgia to run west to the first mentioned meridional line, as their Atlantic coast falls off west.

The new states are each of them to contain two degrees of latitude, and what lies above the forty-seventh degree is to be added to the state adjoining south. The district lying east of the meridian of [blank] and west of Pennsylvania, is to make a state by itself. If you trace the foregoing lines on a map, the whole scheme will readily appear.

The mode of government, during the infancy of these states, has taken up much time, and was largely debated at Princeton last summer. On this head the committee have agreed to report in substance, as follows:—

As settlers will always readily know in which of the states they are, for the states are to be named as well as numbered, when a number of settlers shall have planted themselves in any particular state, either on their petition, or the order of Congress, they are to hold a general meeting of all the free

⁴⁰ Great Kanawha.

males, and to chose, out of all the constitutions of the present thirteen states, one constitution, and to adopt the laws of such state also, which are to be subject to alterations by their ordinary legislature. They are also, in this first and general meeting, to divide the State into counties or towns, for the choice of their legislature; and this government is to be originated among them. From this period they are to be subject to pay a quota of taxes by the same rule as the other states, and they are to have a setting member in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting. This is the first stage. After the settlers in any such state shall consist of [blank] souls, the free males shall have a right to call a convention, and to form a constitution for themselves, which is to be permanent, of the republican form, and agreeable to the spirit of the Confederation. This is the second stage.

After the settlers in any such state shall consist of a number of souls equal to the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted as a member in full of the Federal Union, and vote as well as debate, on subscribing to the Articles of Confederation.

The committee have also agreed to report that the new states be laid off under the following express stipulations or perpetual covenants betwixt them and the present states:—

1. They shall always remain within the United States and be considered as part thereof.
2. They shall assume on themselves a proportional part of the national debt at the time, and be bound, in due time, to subscribe to all the Articles of

Confederation, as they may then be, and to become members of the Federal Union.

3. After the year 1800, there shall be no slavery in any of the said states, nor involuntary servitude other than as punishment for crimes.⁴¹

4. No citizen thereof shall hold any hereditary title, nor shall any person holding such title, or order, be capable of becoming a citizen of any such state without a previous renunciation thereof.

About the most eligible mode of disposing of these lands, there are various opinions. It has been the custom of the southern states to issue warrants from a land office. The person taking the warrant has to look for unlocated lands to cover with his warrant, of which he makes a return. In this way the good land is looked out and seized on first, and land of little value and in all shapes, left in the hands of the public. But this, I am told, soon rises in value, and is bought by the holders of the adjacent good lands, in their own defence. In the eastern states as you well know, the custom has been to sell a township by bonds, or certain lots taken flush, good and bad together, and to pass out settlements in compact columns.

The measure to be finally adopted on this head must be the result of mutual concession; and what they will be remains quite uncertain. Whether our general land-office ought to be opened—one in each state—is a question undecided, there being different opinions among the members present. But the prices

⁴¹ This is the first phrasing of the famous anti-slavery clause which was incorporated into the Ordinance of 1784 as originally drafted.

of the land is the chief question, after all. If the liberties of this country are preserved, it will, in my humble opinion, be done by paying and not by funding the national debt. I am, therefore, of opinion with those who are for making the most of what we have to carry the market.

I find the public creditors are very apprehensive that Congress will set a high price on their lands. We are told of the immense tracts of land the particular states have to dispose of, and of the lands at the disposal of the British Crown adjoining their water boundary, which it will be their interests not only to give away, but to hire people to settle on, in order to preserve their fur trade. A Major General, a few days ago, told me that he did not think our land would fetch us above an eighth of a dollar per acre. I replied by asking if his conscience would let him take eighty thousand acres of that land for his commutation only, (for it would come to so much nearly,) when no nation, not even the British, ever gave any general officers more than a colonel's half-pay.

Some are of the opinion, that it would be policy to throw all our western country into a bank and sell it out as bank stock; the stockholders to choose a company of directors, and to make the most of their property. But in my opinion, this would be of too great magnitude to be effected in this country. It might be more practicable in an ancient and wealthy country, such as England or France. Such was the Mississippi scheme in France, which paid the public debt, though it ruined individuals.

XV

ORDINANCE OF 1784^{42a}

By the UNITED STATES in CONGRESS Assembled April 23, 1784

RESOLVED,

That so much of the territory ceded, or to be ceded by individual states, to the United States, as is already purchased, or shall be purchased, of the Indian inhabitants, and offered for sale by Congress, shall be divided into distinct states in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit; that is to say, by parallels of latitude, so that each state shall comprehend from north to south two degrees of latitude, beginning to count from the completion of forty-five degrees north of the equator; and by meridians of longitude, one of which shall pass through the western cape of the mouth of the great Kanhaway: but the territory eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, lake Erie, and Pennsylvania, shall be one state, whatsoever may be its comprehension of latitude. That which may lie beyond the completion of the forty-fifth degree between the said meridians shall make part of the state adjoining it on the south; and that part of the Ohio, which is between the same meridians coinciding nearly with the parallel of thirty-nine degrees, shall be substituted so far in lieu of that parallel as a boundary line.

That the settlers on any territory so purchased

^{42a} This is copied from a broadside printed by order of Congress and agrees textually with the ordinance as printed in the *Journals of Congress*. But in the *Journal*, no words are all Caps and the designations 1st, 2d, &c are given thus (not written out).

and offered for sale, shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place, for their free males of full age, within the limits of their state, to meet together, for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states; so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; and to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties, townships, or other divisions, for the election of members for their legislature.

That when any such state shall have acquired twenty thousand free inhabitants, on giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority, with appointments of time and place, to call a convention of representatives, to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves. Provided that both the temporary and permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis:

FIRST. That they shall for ever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.

SECOND. That they shall be subject to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto.

THIRD. That they in no case shall interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled; nor with the ordinances and regulations which Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers.

FOURTH. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted; to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states.

FIFTH. That no tax shall be imposed on lands, the property of the United States.

SIXTH. That their respective governments shall be republican.

SEVENTH. That the lands of non-resident proprietors shall, in no case, be taxed higher than those of residents within any new state, before the admission thereof to a vote by its delegates in Congress.

That whensoever any of the said states shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one, the least numerous, of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states; provided the consent of so many states in Congress is first obtained as may at the time be competent to such admission. And in order to adapt the said articles of confederation to the state of Congress, when its number shall be thus increased, it shall be proposed to the legislatures of the states, originally parties thereto, to require the assent of two-thirds of the United States Congress assembled, in all those cases wherein, by the said articles, the assent of nine states is now required, which being agreed to by them, shall be binding on the new states. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress,

any of the said states, after the establishment of their temporary government, shall have authority to keep a member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers, in any of the said new states, until they shall assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact; shall be duly executed by the president of the United States in Congress assembled, under his hand, and the seal of the United States; shall be promulgated; and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original states, and each of the several states now newly described, unalterable from and after the sale of any part of the territory of such state, pursuant to this resolve, but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, and of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

XVI

TREATY OF FORT MCINTOSH (1785)⁴³

Articles of a treaty concluded at fort M'Intosh, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand seven

⁴³ From *American State Papers*, v, *Indian Affairs*, i, 11. By the Treaty of Fort McIntosh the southeastern three-quarters of what is

hundred and eighty-five, between the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one part, and the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations, of the other.

The commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States, in Congress assembled, give peace to the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations of Indians, on the following conditions:

ARTICLE 1. Three chiefs, one from among the Wyandot, and two from among the Delaware nations, shall be delivered up to the commissioners of the United States, to be by them retained till all the prisoners, white and black, taken by the said nations, or any of them, shall be restored.

ARTICLE 2. The said Indian nations do acknowledge themselves and all their tribes to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever.

ARTICLE 3. The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cayahoga, and run thence, up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of Muskingum; then down the said branch to the forks at the crossing place above fort Lawrence;⁴⁴ then westerly to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood, which was taken by the French in one thou-

now Ohio was ceded to the United States by the four Indian nations claiming that region. This step made possible the passing of the Land Ordinance by Congress later in the year.

⁴⁴ Fort Laurens near Bolivar, Ohio.

sand seven hundred and fifty-two; then along the said portage to the Great Miami or Omie river, and down the southeast side of the same to its mouth; thence, along the south shore of lake Erie, to the mouth of Cayahoga, where it began.

ARTICLE 4. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottawa nation as now live thereon; saving and reserving for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Omie river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the lake of Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river, which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use and under the government of the United States.

ARTICLE 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

ARTICLE 6. The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south, and west, of the lines described in the third article, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same, or any part of it.

ARTICLE 7. The post of Detroit, with a district, beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, on the west end of lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river, thence northerly and always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the lake St. Clair, shall be also reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ARTICLE 8. In the same manner, the post at Michilimackinac, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.

ARTICLE 9. If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offenders may belong, shall be bound to deliver them up at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

ARTICLE 10. The commissioners of the United States, in pursuance of the humane and liberal views of Congress, upon this treaty's being signed, will direct goods to be distributed among the different tribes for their use and comfort.

SEPARATE ARTICLE

It is agreed that the Delaware chiefs, Kelelamand, or Colonel Henry, Hengue Pushees, or the Big Cat, Wicocalind, or Captain White Eyes, who took up the hatchet for the United States, and their families, shall be received into the Delaware nation, in the same situation and rank as before the war, and enjoy their due portions of the lands given to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, as fully as if

they had not taken part with America, or as any other person or persons in the said nations.

GEO CLARK,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.⁴⁵

[Signed by the sachems and warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations of Indians.]

XVII

LAND ORDINANCE OF 1785⁴⁶

May 20, 1785

An ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, that the territory ceded by individual states to the United States, which has been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be disposed of in the following manner:

⁴⁵ This Commission, consisting of George Rogers Clark, General Butler, and Arthur Lee, member of the U. S. Board of Treasury, exercised the first powers of the National Government in the Old Northwest. Created primarily to make and enforce an Indian treaty, they also served as the agent of the government to preserve inviolate the ceded region from the encroachment of "squatters" until the government could carry out the survey-before-sale township system determined by the Land Ordinance now about to be passed by Congress (Doc. xvii). It was this Commission that authorized the uprooting of the squatter settlements on the western shore of the Ohio on January 24th, three days after this treaty was signed. — W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, ii, 3, n.

⁴⁶ *Journals of Congress*, iv, 520.

A surveyor from each state shall be appointed by Congress, or a committee of the states, who shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, before the geographer of the United States, who is hereby empowered and directed to administer the same; and the like oath shall be administered to each chain carrier, by the surveyor under whom he acts.

The geographer, under whose direction the surveyors shall act, shall occasionally form such regulations for their conduct, as he shall deem necessary; and shall have authority to suspend them for misconduct in office, and shall make report of the same to Congress, or to the committee of the states; and he shall make report in case of sickness, death, or resignation of any surveyor.

The surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships of 6 miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles, as near as may be, unless where the boundaries of the late Indian purchases may render the same impracticable, and then they shall depart from this rule no farther than such particular circumstances may require. And each surveyor shall be allowed and paid at the rate of two dollars for every mile, in length, he shall run, including the wages of chain carriers, markers, and every other expense attending the same.

The first line, running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be due north and south from the western termination of a line, which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsyl-

vania; and the first line, running east and west, shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole territory; provided, that nothing herein shall be construed, as fixing the western boundary of the state of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships, or fractional parts of townships, by numbers progressively from south to north; always beginning each range with No. 1; and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward. The first range, extending from the Ohio to lake Erie, being marked No. 1. The geographer shall personally attend to the running of the first east and west line; and shall take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers.

The lines shall be measured with a chain; shall be plainly marked by chaps on the trees, and exactly described on a plat; whereon shall be noted by the surveyor, at their proper distances, all mines, salt-springs, salt-licks and mill-seats, that shall come to his knowledge; and all water-courses, mountains and other remarkable and permanent things, over and near which such lines shall pass, and also the quality of the lands.

The plats of the townships respectively, shall be marked by subdivisions into lots of one mile square, or 640 acres, in the same direction as the external lines, and numbered from 1 to 36; always beginning the succeeding range of the lots with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded. And where, from the causes before mentioned, only a fractional part of a township shall be surveyed,

the lots, protracted thereon, shall bear the same numbers as if the township had been entire. And the surveyors, in running the external lines of the townships, shall, at the interval of every mile, mark corners for the lots which are adjacent, always designating the same in a different manner from those of the townships.

The geographer and surveyors shall pay the utmost attention to the variation of the magnetic needle; and shall run and note all lines by the true meridian, certifying, with every plat, what was the variation at the time of running the lines thereon noted.

As soon as 7 ranges of townships, and fractional parts of townships, in the direction from south to north, shall have been surveyed, the geographer shall transmit plats thereof to the board of treasury, who shall record the same, with the report, in well bound books to be kept for that purpose. And the geographer shall make similar returns, from time to time, of every 7 ranges as they may be surveyed. The secretary at war shall have recourse thereto, and shall take by lot therefrom, a number of townships, and fractional parts of townships, as well from those to be sold entire, as from those to be sold in lots, as will be equal to one-seventh part of the whole of such 7 ranges, as nearly as may be, for the use of the late continental army; and he shall make a similar draught, from time to time, until a sufficient quantity is drawn to satisfy the same, to be applied in manner hereinafter directed. The board of treasury shall, from time to time, cause the remaining numbers, as well those to be sold entire, as those to be sold in lots, to be drawn for, in

the name of the thirteen states respectively, according to the quotas in the last preceding requisition on all the states; provided, that in case more land than its proportion is allotted to sale, in any state, at any distribution, a deduction be made therefor at the next.

The board of treasury shall transmit a copy of the original plats, previously noting thereon, the townships, and fractional parts of townships, which shall have fallen to the several states, by the distribution aforesaid, to the commissioners of the loan-office of the several states, who, after giving notice of not less than two nor more than six months, by causing advertisements to be posted up at the court-houses, or other noted places in every county, and to be inserted in one newspaper, published in the states of their residence respectively, shall proceed to sell the townships, or fractional parts of townships, at public vendue; in the following manner, viz: The township, or fractional part of township No. 1, in the first range, shall be sold entire; and No. 2, in the same range, by lots; and thus in alternate order through the whole of the first range. The township, or fractional part of a township, No. 1 in the second range, shall be sold by lots; and No. 2, in the same range, entire; and so in alternate order through the whole of the second range; and the third range shall be sold in the same manner as the first, and the fourth in the same manner as the second, and thus alternately throughout all the ranges; provided, that none of the lands, within the said territory, be sold under the price of one dollar the acre, to be paid in specie, or loan-office certificates, reduced to

specie value, by the scale of depreciation, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, including interest, besides the expense of the survey and other charges thereon, which are hereby rated at 36 dollars the township, in specie, or certificates as aforesaid, and so in the same proportion for a fractional part of a township, or of a lot, to be paid at the time of sales; on failure of which payment, the said lands shall again be offered for sale.

There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, and out of every fractional part of a township, so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon, for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools, within the said township; also one third part of all gold, silver, lead and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of as Congress shall hereafter direct.

When any township, or fractional part of a township, shall have been sold as aforesaid, and the money or certificates received therefor, the loan-officer shall deliver a deed in the following terms:

The United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, That for the consideration of dollars, we have granted, and hereby do grant and confirm unto the township, (or fractional part of a township, as the case may be) numbered in the range excepting therefrom, and reserving one-third part of all gold, silver, lead and copper mines within the same; and the lots No. 8, 11, 26, and 29, for future sale or disposition, and the lot No. 16,

for the maintenance of public schools. To have to the said his heirs and assigns for ever; (or if more than one purchaser, to the said their heirs and assigns forever as tenants in common.) In witness whereof, A. B. commissioner of the loan-office, in the state of hath, in conformity to the ordinance passed by the United States in Congress assembled, the 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1785, hereunto set his hand, and affixed his seal, this day of in the year of our Lord and of the independence of the United States of America

And when any township, or fractional part of a township, shall be sold by lots as aforesaid, the commissioner of the loan-office shall deliver a deed therefor in the following form:

The United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, That for the consideration of dollars, we have granted, and hereby do grant and confirm unto the lot (or lots, as the case may be, in the township, or fractional part of the township, as the case may be) numbered in the range excepting and reserving one-third part of all gold, silver, lead and copper mines within the same, for future sale or disposition. To have to the said his heirs and assigns forever; (or if more than one purchaser, to the said their heirs and assigns for ever as tenants in common.) In witness whereof, A. B. commissioner of the continental loan-office in the state of hath, in conformity to the ordinance passed by the United States in Congress assembled, the 20th day of May,

in the year of our Lord 1785, hereunto set his hand, and affixed his seal, this day of in the year of our Lord and of the independence of the United States of America

Which deeds shall be recorded in proper books, by the commissioner of the loan office, and shall be certified to have been recorded, previous to their being delivered to the purchaser, and shall be good and valid to convey the lands in the same described.

The commissioners of the loan-offices respectively, shall transmit to the board of treasury every three months, an account of the townships, fractional parts of townships, and lots committed to their charge, specifying therein the names of the persons to whom sold, and the sums of money or certificates received for the same; and shall cause all certificates by them received, to be struck through with a circular punch; and they shall be duly charged in the books of the treasury, with the amount of the moneys or certificates, distinguishing the same, by them received as aforesaid.

If any township, or fractional part of a township, or lot, remains unsold for 18 months after the plat shall have been received, by the commissioners of the loan-office, the same shall be returned to the board of treasury, and shall be sold in such manner as Congress may hereafter direct.

And whereas Congress, by their resolutions of September 16th and 18th, in the year 1776, and the 12th of August, 1780, stipulated grants of lands to certain officers and soldiers of the late continental army, and by the resolution of the 22d September, 1780, stipulated grants of land to certain officers in

the hospital department of the late continental army; for complying therefore with such engagements, Be it ordained, That the secretary at war, from the returns in his office, or such other sufficient evidence as the nature of the case may admit, determine who are the objects of the above resolutions and engagements, and the quantity of land to which such persons or their representatives are respectively entitled, and cause the townships, or fractional parts of townships, hereinbefore reserved for the use of the late continental army, to be drawn for in such manner as he shall deem expedient, to answer the purpose of an impartial distribution. He shall, from time to time, transmit certificates to the commissioners of the loan offices of the different states, to the lines of which the military claimants have respectively belonged, specifying the name and rank of the party, the terms of his engagement and time of his service, and the division, brigade regiment or company to which he belonged, the quantity of land he is entitled to, and the township, or fractional part of a township, and range out of which his portion is to be taken.

The commissioners of the loan-offices shall execute deeds for such undivided proportions in manner and form herein before-mentioned, varying only in such a degree as to make the same conformable to the certificate from the secretary at war.

Where any military claimants of bounty in lands shall not have belonged to the line of any particular state, similar certificates shall be sent to the board of treasury, who shall execute deeds to the parties for the same.

The secretary at war, from the proper returns, shall transmit to the board of treasury, a certificate, specifying the name and rank of the several claimants of the hospital department of the late continental army, together with the quantity of land each claimant is entitled to, and the township, or fractional part of a township, and range out of which his portion is to be taken; and thereupon the board of treasury shall proceed to execute deeds to such claimants.

The board of treasury, and the commissioners of the loan-offices in the states, shall, within 18 months, return receipts to the secretary at war, for all deeds which have been delivered, as also all the original deeds which remain in their hands for want of applicants, having been first recorded; which deeds so returned, shall be preserved in the office, until the parties or their representatives require the same.

And be it further ordained, That three townships adjacent to lake Erie be reserved, to be hereafter disposed of by Congress, for the use of the officers, men, and others, refugees from Canada, and the refugees from Nova-Scotia, who are or may be entitled to grants of land under resolutions of Congress now existing, or which may hereafter be made respecting them, and for such other purposes as Congress may hereafter direct.

And be it further ordained, That the towns of Gnadenhuten, Schoenbrun and Salem, on the Muskingum, and so much of the land adjoining to the said towns, with the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians, who were formerly settled there,

or the remains of that society, as may, in the judgment of the geographer, be sufficient for them to cultivate.

Saving and reserving always, to all officers and soldiers entitled to lands on the northwest side of the Ohio, by donation or bounty from the commonwealth of Virginia, and to all persons claiming under them, all rights to which they are so entitled, under the deed of cession executed by the delegates for the state of Virginia, on the first day of March, 1784, and the act of Congress accepting the same: and to the end, that the said rights may be fully and effectually secured, according to the true intent and meaning of the said deed of cession and act aforesaid, Be it ordained, that no part of the land included between the rivers called Little Miami and Sciota, on the northwest of the river Ohio, be sold, or in any manner alienated, until there shall first have been laid off and appropriated for the said officers and soldiers, and persons claiming under them, the lands they are entitled to, agreeably to the said deed of cession and act of Congress accepting the same.

Done by the United States in Congress assembled, the 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1785, and of our sovereignty and independenec the ninth.

Charles Thompson, *Secretary*.

RICHARD H. LEE, *President*

PART TWO

Ohio in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*⁴⁷

XVIII

COLLES' PETITION TO IMPROVE OHIO RIVER NAVIGATION (1783)⁴⁸

To the Honourable the Delagates of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

The humble Petition of Christopher Colles Sheweth,

That your petitioner from a consideration of the vast extent of the interior parts of this rising Empire is of opinion that a source of wealth & greatness must speedily be open'd to this fertile country, if the natural defects were removed by art, & the water carriage improved by Inland Navigations.

That by a careful examination of Capⁿ Hutchins's

⁴⁷ The following miscellaneous documents from the *Papers of the Continental Congress* in the Library of Congress throw light on various phases of Ohio Valley history in the years 1783-1787, particularly on the activities of Thomas Hutchins and his assistants who were surveying the Seven Ranges and on the people south and west of the Ohio who desired land in what are now Ohio and Indiana. Under this general title were filed all communications, petitions and reports made to Congress; they are to be distinguished from the *Journals of Congress* which comprise the reports of proceedings and have been published.

⁴⁸ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 42, ii, 168. Christopher Colles (1738-1816), eminent Irish-American engineer, was publicly advocating canal lock-navigation as early as 1772; was prominent in urging New York State to improve the Mohawk route to Lake Erie by showing in 1784 the commercial advantages to be derived, using the same argument as he here uses with Congress concerning western trade.

new Map of the River Ohio, the Book which he has published,⁴⁹ & from other information which your petitioner has receiv'd it appears, that that great river is now navigable for large flat bottom boats from Fort Pitt to the Ocean, except a small distance (not more than half a mile) where the Navigation is obstructed with such rapids as render it very dangerous for any vessels to pass down, except at the time of the floods which last but a very inconsiderable part of the year.⁵⁰

That your Petitioner is of opinion that the expence of improving the Navigation of these rapids (in the manner practiced in England & other parts of Europe) is perfectly inconsiderable when compared with the vast advantage which would result from putting such a design in Execution; & it appears to him that nothing can contribute to populate all the upper part of that great & extensive country so much, as the prosecution of this business.

That your Petitioner begs leave to observe that the Kentuck river falls into the Ohio Seventy miles above these Rapids, & he is therefore clearly of opinion that the numerous settlers in these parts would have their property much advanced by this undertaking. —

Your petitioner also apprehend that many other advantages may be directly & speedily obtain'd by the prosecution of this design, a design which for the

⁴⁹ "A map of the country on the Ohio & Muakingum rivers shewing the situation of the Indian towns with respect to the army under the command of Colonel Bouquet." In *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764*. Phila., 1765.

⁵⁰ "The Falls" at Louisville, Ky.

facility of its execution may be only considered as an essay, but for the extent of its consequences highly beneficial, as it would improve an extent of country full 700 Miles in Diameter,—by a further prosecution may extend its influence to Lake Erie, & will most certainly spread the luxurious branches of commerce to an amazing distance on all points of the compass.—

Your Petitioner begs leave to observe that it is highly probable many useful communications may be made hereafter between the head branches of the Monongahela & Allegany, & some of the upper waters of the Potomack & Susquehanna, whereby a great trade may be drawn from these parts to the settled parts of this country: But the execution of these design when duly consider'd will be found to cost more than the design before mentioned, or the country can now afford.—

Your Petitioner therefore prays that your honours will take the premisses into consideration & make him a Grant of Lands on the Rapids of Ohio, for which he will make such payment as are usually allowed for other crown lands, & he will engage to forward the proposed improvement with all possible speed, & will make application to proper authority for a Law to establish a Company, & to regulate the Tolls, for the passage of vessels thro these works.

And your Petitioner will Pray.

Christopher Colles.

[Indorsed:]

Petition of Christ. Colles
for facilitating the navigation of Ohio.—

Read July 4. 1783.—

XIX

PETITION TO SETTLE OHIO LANDS (1784)⁵¹

To the Honourable Congress of the United States of America now sitting at Trenton —

The humble petition of the Inhabitants residing near the Ohio River and frontiers of the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia, having flattered ourselves with the pleasing hopes that when the Lands were disposed of on the other side of the Ohio River, that we should meet with every Indulgence in particular that of Locating of Lands and time allowed us for the payment of the monies for S^d Lands, but to our surprise we have seen a late ordinance of Congress published for consideration wherein no man can take out a warrant for less than Eight hundred and fifty acres, which we apprehend is more than many of the people on our frontiers are able to purchase who would be glad to become Adventurers, whose time has been taken up during the late war, Not in heaping up of Treasure but in stoping the inroads of the savages. we humbly beg leave to inform your Ho^{rs}.; that we pray that each one may be

⁵¹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 42, vi, 106. In our introduction to vol. i of these *Collections* (xxi-xxiv) we noted the arrival, as early as 1779, of the first white men (not counting French and Moravian missionaries and traders) to build homes in what is now Ohio. The virile democracy both of those who came and those who petitioned Congress to be allowed to come is voiced in the petitions herein printed. Before January 21, 1785, these "squatters" violated Indian sovereignty; after that date they violated the decree of Congress which had ordered that region to be surveyed before sales were made. In these petitions we have a new expression from what Howell called the "Gods of the Mountains" in relation to the "tyrants" of the East who were placing wise limitations on the expansion movement into the unoccupied West.

indulged with taking out Warrants according to his abilities, and locating the same in what manner they shall see fit—and your petitioners in duty bound will ever Pray. —

The 30th october 1784

Benja ^a Davis	John McDonnell	Jos Ogle
W Scott	Henry Nellson	Derick Hogland
J. P. Gillespie	Absolem Sparkes	Morgan Vandewater
Andrew Ramsey	Andrew Fowts	James Mas—
George McCoy	John Huff	William foster
Step ^a Ja Francis	andrew Zane	John Ramsey
James Andrews	Conrad Troup	John Bigdon
Fred ^k Lamb	Chas ^a Beebe	Jacob Paul
Aaron Delong	Charles Wells	William McIntire
John Green	W ^m Briggs	Samuel fulton
Bennet Truly	W ^m Lamb	William Walker
Silas Hedges	Francis Huff	Joseph Farr
John Vanmater	Peter Cox	Daniel Cannon
Patrick McGahan	Joseph Cox	Harmon Greathouse
Zakries Sprigs	John Cox	Harmon Greathouse
John Vanbuskirk	John Sweet	Jun ^r
Louis Vanbuskirk	Vincin Calvin	James Cunningham
Joseph Wells	Joseph Forman	William Cunningham
William Sloane	Thomas Forman	Jonathan Greathouse
Benj ^m Doolittle	Johannes Veller	Isaac Greathouse
David Hannah	William Wood	David Cox
Roger Curragan	Andrew Wood	John Williams
thomas Strait Back	Hezekiah Wood	Ralph Cherry
William McMahan	Luther Calvin	Mathias Kern
Tell Soloman	Charles Stinson	Peter Kern
Jn ^o McCormick	William Sparks	James Wells
Ja ^s Miller	Richard Wood	John Wilkin
Moses Chapline	John Wood	James Black
Rich ^d Poslethwait	John Lemon	Thomas Buell
William West	John Smart	John McMichel
George Cox	Abraham Leforge	Abraham faith
Abraham Cuppy	Abraham Leforge Jun ^r	Thomas Faith
John McCoy	Abraham Wood	Jas Benford
John Tilton	Joseph Wood	Andrew memichael
James parks	David Wood	John Lucky
Absalam Wells	David Ritchey	John Faith

Jonathan Cox	Joshua Harbin	William Anderson
James Parks Jr	John Crow	John Bonnet
Nathaniel West	Edward Gibbs	Wm Paterson
Benjamin Martin	Ignatius Jones	John Wilson
John Means	William West	Samuel Biggart
William hana	William Williams	John Ramsey
William Ross	James Fleming	Gerford Caius
Hugh Chain	Alexr Robinsen	Walter Cain
George White	James Cuningham	John Winand
Moses Curry	Henry Down	John Cochran
Jam ^s White	Isreal Cox	
William Carson	Joseph Winley	

XX

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1785)⁵²

Sir

I have the honor to inform Congress of my return from ascertaining the Boundary Line between Virginia and Pennsylvania, for which purpose the Assent of Congress was signified to me by his Excellency the late president.—

The Information I have acquired on this Service

⁵² From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 177. Thomas Hutchins (1730-1788), a native of New Jersey, was the first "geographer of the United States." He went west in boyhood and became ensign, paymaster-general, and deputy-engineer in the British army. He laid out Fort Pitt, under General Bouquet, whose expedition he described and mapped (see Note 49). Later he lived in Louisiana and published a map and description of Louisiana and West Florida. At the outbreak of the Revolution, being in London, he resigned his commission, was imprisoned, and penniless, reached France and finally the United States. Congress appointed him Geographer in 1781, and he directed all surveys, especially those under the Ordinance of 1785, though he died before their completion.— See "*A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*" edited by Frederick Charles Hicks. Cleveland, 1904.

will I hope be of considerable Benefit to the United States—I now wait on them for their Commands. Intreating that the Report of the Committee on my Memorial and Petition to Congress of the 8th of Sept^r 1783 may be previously acted upon.⁵³

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect
Your Excellency's
most obedient hble Servant
New York 7th March 1785 — Tho: Hutchins
His Excellency the President of Congress. —
[Indorsed:] Letter 7 March 1785

Tho^s Hutchins
Referred to
Mr Houstiwn
Mr Beatty
Mr Howell
with report May 25, 1785

XXI

CALL FOR ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO FORM A
STATE CONVENTION WEST OF THE OHIO
RIVER (1785)⁵⁴

March 12, 1785.

ADVERTISEMENT

Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of the west side of the Ohio River that there is to be an

⁵³ The Memorial of Thomas Hutchins, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, iv, p. 107.

⁵⁴ Reprinted from W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, ii, 5. This well-known but remarkable document containing the very essence of western democracy assured the national authorities that something

election for the choosing of members of the convention for the framing of a constitution for the governing of the inhabitants, the election to be held on the 10th day of April next ensuing, viz: one election to be held at the mouth of the Miami River, and one to be held at the mouth of the Scioto River, and one on the Muskingum River, and one at the dwelling-house of Jonas Menzons; the members to be chosen to meet at the mouth of the Scioto on the twentieth day of the same month.

I do certify that all mankind agreeable to every constitution formed in America, have an undoubted right to pass into every vacant country, and there to form their constitution, and that from the confederation of the whole United States, Congress is not empowered to forbid them, neither is Congress empowered from that confederation to make any sale of the uninhabited lands to pay the public debts, which is to be by a tax levied and lifted (collected) by authority of the Legislature of each State.

John Emerson [Amberson]

more was necessary to preserve the integrity of the "Seven Ranges" than mild words and lukewarm attention. The author's name is usually given as Emerson but John Armstrong gives it as Amberson in his letter of April 12th (Doc. xxiv). Amberson's Bottom was a well-known point on the Ohio River in the Ohio Company's Purchase — cf. vol. i, 122. This "Advertizement" takes on fresh significance when compared with a petition from the people to whom it was addressed herein printed for the first time (Doc. xxiii). A comparison shows that while Amberson's coterie were boisterously insurgent, many others were ready to petition Congress humbly for succor and support. It is not difficult to hazard the opinion that, with the uprooting of the squatter settlements between March 31st and April 12th, described in the following documents, the recalcitrant Amberson refused to cross the Ohio and then made a settlement on the river bottom which bore his name when the Ohio Company settlement was made in 1788.

XXII

WESTERN STATE PROPOSED BY THE DEPUTIES OF
WASHINGTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA (1785)⁵⁵Washington County April 7th 1785

Sir

They Deputies of the good people of this County being deeply impressed with a sense of the situation of their Constituents; the value of their Civil and Religious Rights; with the advantages of local Constitutions, and the American Union: They cannot remain indifferent Spectators of Measures, that must eventually affect their dearest interests. We have maturely considered several Acts of Congress,—respecting the Western Country: and have been constant observers of the proceedings of some of the Southern States, claiming jurisdiction over it; and the result of our enquiries and observations are; that the Western Inhabitants, can no longer be safe, or useful in Society, without the protecting Arm of the foederal government, and the privileges of an independent State. The thinking part of the Community, are particularly anxious to part with the ancient Stock the eastern parts of Virginia in friendship and good humour, to introduce and maintain a reciprocity of kind offices with her, and in reality be one people in a national view.

When we turn our eyes to the Acts of your honorable Body—our prospects are enlarged: The Articles in that of the Twenty third day of April last,⁵⁶ will form a *basis* for a liberal and beneficial Com-

⁵⁵ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 48, 297.

⁵⁶ The Ordinance of 1784 (Doc. XV).

pact; we are sorry to object to it, in the smallest tittle, were it not that we know, we were not represented when those Resolves were formed; and we trust, that Congress on an attentive revision of the subject, will conclude that natural boundaries will be most convenient and satisfactory, especially when they nearly coincide with the Meridians, and parallels already held out, as boundaries for the new States.

That Meridian that crosses the Ohio at the west Cape of the Kanhawa is a striking instance; for to the South, it will pass over a great number of the most inaccessible and craggy Mountains in America; and we have reason to believe, it will intersect the Kanhawa in various places, notwithstanding its being otherwise expressed in some Maps; Whereas, had that river been adopted as a boundary; expence, trouble, and inconveniency might have been avoided, and both sides reap equal advantages. We will avoid using argument, why the Sioto, and Sandusky, may not be substituted, in place of a Meridian, on the North side of the Ohio.

We beg leave further to represent, — that the parallel of thirty seven degrees, and the Meridian that passes the Ohio at the Rapids, would be inconvenient in several respects. The Valley adjoining the Kanhawa, above or South of the Ronceverte, or Greenbriar river, lies most convenient to those under latitude thirty Six, on the heads of the Cherokee river. That the parallel of thirty seven extended to the Meridian of the Rapids would sever the Kentuckey Settlements, and be too far removed, from those on Holstein.

Indulge us, Sir to mention what we believe would be the most convenient and equitable limits of two new States. Let that which will include the Kentucky Settlements, be bounded on the East, by the great Kanhawa, as high as the confluence of the Ronceverte; the Ohio on the north; and on the West, and South, by a Meridian line drawn from the mouth of Salt-river, until it intersects the Shawanoe, or Cumberland river, up that river, to the mouth of that branch of it, called Rock-Castle, up the said River Rock-Castle, to the Ansioto or Brush-Mountain, thence a direct line, to the confluence of the Ronceverte

That to the South which will include the Inhabitants on the heads of the Kanhawa and Cherokee-rivers, be bounded by a line extended due South from that part of the Cumberland-river, where the Meridian line drawn from the mouth of Salt-river will touch it, until it reaches Elk-river, down that river to the Tenasee, thence South to the top of the Apalachian Mountain, eastwardly along the same to a point, from whence a north line extended, would meet the Kanhawa at the mouth of Little-river, near Ingles-Ferry; and down that River, to the Ronceverte Westwardly along the boundary, as above described for the Kentucky Country.

At this day, we find a new Society forming itself back of North-Carolina, which if the requisition [of] Congress of the twenty ninth day of April last, is regarded, we of course will be annexed to; and the natural situation of the Country points out the connection; but are yet restrained, from formally joining them, by a deference to the opinions of those that bear rule in Virginia, and the want of an orderly

accession to Independence, under the auspices of Congress; these obstacles we confide, that the Rulers of the federal Government will remove: The interest of America seems urgently to call for it, and the peace and prosperity of the Western Inhabitants will no longer admit of delay.

For further explanation of the subject we take the liberty to enclose for the perusal of Congress, Copies of some papers, containing Sentiments of the people in the western Country.

We have the honor to be with all due deference &
Respect your Excellency's most Obedient &
devoted humble Servants

Signed by Order Cha^s Cummings Ch:

[Addressed:]

His Excellency the President of Congress
honored by
W^m Cocke Esq^r

[Indorsed:]

The Deputies of Washington
County Tho^s Cummings
Chairman 7 Ap^l 1785

XXIII

PETITION OF INHABITANTS WEST OF THE OHIO RIVER (1785)⁵⁷

To the Honourable the President of the Honour-
able Congress of the United States of America
The Petition, of us the subscribers now Residing on
the western side of the ohio; Humbly sheweth our

⁵⁷ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, vii, 320.

gratefull Acknowledgments to those Patriots of our Country who under Divine Providence so wisely Directed and Steered the Helm of Government: in that Great and Unparalel^d Conflict for Liberty: Bringing to a happy Period the Troubles of the states Laying the Foundation (by the most Salutary means) of the most Glorious form of government any People on Earth Could ever yet boast of; and that we have nothing more at hart than the Safety and happiness of the Common wealth in all its members from the highest to the Lowest Station in life: unwilling to Act any thing Directly: or Indirectly: that is of a Publick Nature without the Consent and Advice of the Legislature; notwithstanding when the Joyfull sound of Peace had Reached our Ears; we had scarce Enough left us to Support the Crying Distresses of our families Occasioned wholly by being Exposed to the ravages of a Cruel and Savage Enemy; on an Open Frontier where the most of us had the Misfortune to Beside through the whole Continuance of the war; where the only Recourse was to Sit Confin^d; in forts for the Preservation of our lives; by which we ware Reduced allmost to the Lowest Ebb of Poverty; the Greatest part of us having no

Probably due to the publication of Amberson's "Advertizement" the military commander on the Ohio, Colonel Harmar, who had been authorized by the Commissioners for Indian Affairs to "employ such force as he may judge necessary in driving off persons attempting to settle on the lands of the United States," ordered Ensign John Armstrong with twenty men to march from Fort McIntosh to dispossess all who had intruded. By the 12th of April the mission had been executed as herein reported (Doc. xxiv). This Petition is from those who suffered loss of property. Armstrong's report implies that the Petition was written by residents near Menzon's or Hoglin's Town, the present Martin's Ferry, Ohio.

property in Lands: our stocks Reduced almost to nothing: our Case seemed Desperate But viewing as it Appeared to us an Advantage Offering of Vacant Lands which with the Alarming Nesesitys we were under Joined with the future Prospect of Bettering our Circumstances: invited us to Enter on those Lands fully Determined to Comply with Every Requisition of the Legislature: which we knew to be our Indispensible Duty Pregnant with hopes of Future Happiness we sat Content in the Enjoyment of our Scanty morsel: thinking ourselves Safe under the protection of Government: when on the fifth of this Instant we were Visited by a Command of men Sent by the Commandant at fort M^cEntosh; with orders from Government on purpose to Dispossess us and to Destroy our Dwellings: which the Executed in part when the first set out but our principles and our Duty to Government Oblidged us to make an offer of Performing the Task ourselves which was agreed to on Conditions it were Executed Against the Nineteenth of this Instant; by which order it now Appears our Conduct in Settling here is Considered by the Legislature to be prejudicial to the Common good; of which we had not the Least Conception till now; we are greatly Distressed in our present Circumstances; and humbly pray if you in your Wisdom think proper to grant us Liberty: to Rest where we are and to grant us the preference to our Actual Settlements when the Land is to be settled by order of Government: where we shall Count it our Interest to be Subject to such Law and Regulations as the Legislature in their wisdom may think proper to prescribe Consistent with the Rights and privileges of

the good people of these states which; if you in your wisdom Grant; we your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall Ever Pray

April the 11th 1785—

Signers Names

Wicom hougland	Isaac Van buscark	Joseph all Alexander
Robt Black	John Rigdon	John fleet
Ja ^s Cochran	John Vanbuscark	Rich Cook
Exreal Cook	John Carpenter	Benjamin Lemaster
Henry Cogswill	James Harrison	Nicholas Decker
James Clark	george Nation	Samson Beven
his	Francis Nation	Charles Coyl
Adam X House	Joseph nation	James Demoss
mark	Wm Nation	Richard West
his	Edward Carpenter	Andrew Criswell
Joshua X Fleeheart	Richard power	Walter Cain
mark	George Carpenter	Richard Lemaster
Jane Cochran wedow	Absolom Sparks	Edmund Butt
Henry Hougland	Thomas farris	Isaac Lemaster
Thomas Johnson	Jacob Light	Wm Forgeson
Thomas Dawson	James young	Jacob Lemaster
John nixon	Alectiory Bailey	Michal Stults
Daved nowels	William Capes	Jacob Lemaster senior
John McDonald	William Bailey	Phillip Smith
Thomas Tilton	Lawrance Huff	John Lemasters
Daniel Dorman	John Castleman	
Willi Huff	Joseph Ross Junr	

XXIV

ENSIGN ARMSTRONG'S REPORT TO COLONEL HARMAR⁵⁸

Fort McIntosh, 12th April,
1785.

Sir:— Agreeable to your orders, I proceeded with my party, on the 31st of March, down the river. On

⁵⁸ From C. A. Hanna, *Historical Collections of Harrison Co., Ohio*, 49-50.

the first instant we crossed Little Beaver, and dispossessed a family. Four miles from there, we found three families living in sheds, but, they having no rafts to transport their effects, I thought it proper to give them until the 31st inst., at which time they promised to demolish their sheds and remove to the east side of the river.

At Yellow creek [south of the site of Wellsville], I dispossessed two families and destroyed their building. The 2d inst., being stormy, nothing was done. The 3d, we dispossed eight families. The 4th we arrived at Mingo Bottom, or Old Town [Mingo, Jefferson county]. I read my instructions to the prisoner, [Joseph] Ross, who declared they never came from Congress, for he had late accounts from that honorable body, who, he was convinced, gave no such instructions to the Commissioners. Neither did he care from whom they came, for he was determined to hold possession, and if I destroyed his house he would build six more within a week. He also cast many reflections on the honorable the Congress, the Commissioners, and the commanding officer. I conceived him to be a dangerous man, and sent him under guard to Wheeling. Finding that most of the settlers at this place were tenants under the prisoner, I gave them a few days, at which time they promised to move to the east side of the Ohio river, and to demolish their buildings. On the evening of the 4th, Charles Norris, with a party of armed men, came to my quarters in a hostile manner, and demanded my instructions. After conversing with them some time, and showing my instructions, the warmth with which they first expressed themselves began to abate, and for some motive lodged

their arms with me till morning. I learned from the conversation of the party that at Norris' Town (by them so called), eleven miles farther down the river, [probably the site of the present village of Warrentown, at the mouth of Short Creek], a party of seventy or eighty men were assembled with a determination to oppose me. Finding Norris to be a man of influence in that country, I conceived it to my interest to make use of him as an instrument, which I effected by informing him it was my intention to treat any armed parties I met as enemies of my country, and would fire on them if they did not disperse.

On the 5th, when I arrived within two miles of the town, or place where I expected to meet with opposition, I ordered my men to load their arms in the presence of Norris, and then desired him to go to the party and inform them of my intentions. I then proceeded on with caution, but had not gone far when paper No. 1⁵⁹ was handed me by one of the party, to which I replied, that I would treat with no party, but intended to execute my orders. When I arrived at the town there were about forty men assembled, who had deposited their arms. After I had read to them my instructions, they agreed to move off by the 19th inst. This indulgence I thought proper to grant, the weather being too severe to turn them out of doors. The 6th I proceeded to Hoglin's, or Mercer's Town [Martin's Ferry], where I was presented with paper No. 2,⁶⁰ and, from the humble disposition of the people and the impossibility of their moving, I gave them to the 19th, and I believe

⁵⁹ Doc. no. xxiii.

⁶⁰ Doc. no. xxi.

they generally left the settlement at that time. At that place I was informed that Charles Norris and John Carpenter had been elected Justices of the Peace; that they had, I found, precepts, and had decided thereon. I then proceeded on till opposite Wheeling, where I dispossessed one family and destroyed their buildings. I hope, sir, that the indulgences granted some of the inhabitants will meet your approbation. The paper No. 2 is a copy of an advertisement, which is posted up in almost every settlement on the western side of the Ohio. Three of my party being landed, I left them about forty miles from this place under care of a corporal. The remainder I have ordered to their respective companies, and the prisoner I have delivered to the prison guard. I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG, Ensign.

XXV

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1785)⁶¹

Sir

Congress has been informed that on the last Summer I was employed in determining the Western Extent of the Southern Boundary of Pennsylvania—A North Line remains to be run from the Termination of the Southern Boundary of Pennsylvania as far as the River Ohio which is to be the Line of Division between the Citizens of Pennsylvania and those of Virginia.—The Executive of the State of Penn-

⁶¹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 61, 181.

sylvania have been pleased to propose that I should assist in running that Line.—The Commissioners are to begin the 16th of May.—I am to request that you would be so good as submit this application to the Consideration of Congress that I may be informed whether that Honorable Body have any Objection to my assisting in the above Work till they have any Occasion for my services with the assurance that I shall on the first Notice attend to their Commands. —

I am with the greatest Respect
Your Excellencys
Most obedient and
most humble Servant

New York 21st April 1785 — Tho: Hutchins
His Excellency the President of Congress
[Indorsed:] Letter 21st April 1785 from
Thomas Hutchins to the
President of Congress

XXVI

RUFUS PUTNAM TO CONGRESS (1785)⁸³

Boston June y^e 11th 1785

Sir

Your favor of the 28th Ult^o, encloseing the ordinance of the Honourable Congress, for Ascertainig the mode of disposeing of lands in the Western territory; and informing, that Congress has been pleased to appoint me one of their surveyors; has come to hand. — I beg leve to express my obligations

⁸³ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 56, 161.

to Congress on this ocaation, and acceptance of their appointment; but I must in Justice to my self inform them, that a wish to promote emigration from among my friends into that country, and not the wages Stipulated, is my principle motive. —

I have the Honnor to be
Sir your obedient
humble Servent
Rufus Putnam

Sec^{ty} Thomson Esq^r

PS. before I was honour^d with your letter I had engaged in the Service of this Commonwealth for the Summer or all winter, in Surveying their eastern territory and am now on my way for that purpos, and should wish not to be called on to go westward this year, but if Congress should require it a letter for me directed to the Care of the Honourable Samuel Philips Jun^r Esqr at Boston or Adover will be forwarded too me imediately, when I shall obey its Summons as Soon as posable — “

yours

R P —

M^r T

[Indorsed:] Letter June 11. 1785

Rufus Putnam
accepts the Office of Surveyor
Read 20 June 1785. —

“General Putnam continued in the service of Massachusetts and General Benjamin Tupper was appointed as the Massachusetts representative on the corps of surveyors for the “Seven Ranges.” As we have hinted (vol. i, xxxviii), this was probably a deliberate plan on the part of these men in order to get first hand knowledge of the two regions, Maine and the Ohio Valley, as possible sites for the colony they had determined to establish. Their decision seemed to lie be-

XXVII

PROCLAMATION OF CONGRESS ON WESTERN LANDS
(JUNE 15, 1785)⁶⁵

Whereas, it hath been represented to the United States, in Congress assembled, that several disorderly persons have crossed the river Ohio, and set-
tween New York, Massachusetts, and the western lands to be opened by the government. Writing to Washington, April 5, 1784, Putnam said:

"The settlement of the Ohio country, sir, engrosses many of my thoughts, and much of my time since I left the camp has been employed in informing myself and others with respect to the nature, situation, and circumstances of that country, and practicability of removing ourselves there; and if I am to form an opinion on what I have seen and heard on the subject, there are thousands in this quarter who will emigrate to that country as soon as the honorable Congress make provisions for granting lands there, and locations and settlements can be made with safety, unless such provision is too long delayed — I mean, till necessity turn their views another way, which is the case with some already, and must soon be the case with many more. You are sensible of the necessity, as well as the possibility, of both officers and soldiers fixing themselves in business somewhere as soon as possible, as many of them are unable to lie long on their

⁶⁵ *Journals of Congress*, iv, 538. In response to a letter from Colonel Harmar to the Secretary of War (*St. Clair Papers*, ii, 6-7), Congress authorized Colonel Harmar to establish a new post on the Ohio between the Muskingum and the Great Miami "for further carrying into effect the before-mentioned orders" concerning repelling the invasion of squatters. Six hundred dollars was appropriated for transferring troops and baggage. It was under this order that Fort Harmar was erected at the mouth of the Muskingum River. There is something almost uncanny in the way local historians, centennial orators, etc., have overlooked the fact that Fort Harmar was erected, so to speak, against white men primarily — to keep soldiers posted where they could most easily drive back the army of squatters until the lands could be surveyed and offered for public sale. Congress had determined that the southern "something-for-nothing" system of pioneering was not to prevail north of the Ohio River. Fort Harmar was a monument to that epoch-making decision.

tled upon their unappropriated lands; and whereas it is their intention, as soon as it shall be surveyed, to open offices for the sale of a considerable part thereof, in such proportions, and under such other regulations as may suit the convenience of all the citizens of the said states, and others, who may wish to become purchasers of the same; and as such conduct

oars, waiting the decision of Congress on our petition, and therefore must unavoidably settle themselves in some other quarter, which, when done, the idea of removing to the Ohio country will probably be at an end with respect to most of them; besides, the commonwealth of Massachusetts have come to a resolution to sell their eastern country for public securities; and should their plan be formed and propositions be made public before we hear anything from Congress respecting our petition, and the terms on which the land petitioned for are to be obtained, it will undoubtedly be much against us, by greatly lessening the number of Ohio associates.

"Another reason why we wish to know as soon as possible what the intentions of Congress are respecting our petition, is the effect such knowledge will probably have on the credit of the certificates we have received on settlement of accounts. Those securities are now selling at no more than three shillings and six pence or four shillings on the pound, which in all probability might double, if no more, the moment it was known that government would receive them for lands in the Ohio country. From these circumstances and many others which might be mentioned, we are growing quite impatient; and the general inquiry now is, when are we going to the Ohio? Among others, Brig.-Gen. Tupper, Lt.-Col. Oliver, and Maj. Ashley have agreed to accompany me to that country the moment the way is opened for such an undertaking. I should have hinted these things to some member of Congress, but the delegates from Massachusetts, though exceedingly worthy men, and in general would wish to promote the Ohio scheme, yet, if it should militate against the particular interest of this state, by draining her of inhabitants, especially when she is forming the plan of selling the eastern country, I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor. And I dare not trust myself with any of the New York delegates with whom I am acquainted, because that government are wisely inviting the eastern people to settle in that state; and as to the delegates of other states, I have no acquaintance with any of them."

tends to defeat the object which they have in view, is in direct opposition to the ordinances and resolutions of Congress, and highly disrespectful to the federal authority, they have therefore thought fit, and do hereby issue this their proclamation, strictly forbidding all such unwarrantable intrusions, and enjoining all those who have settled thereon, to depart, with their families and effects, without loss of time, as they shall answer the same at their peril.

XXVIII

THE SACKETT MEMORIAL (1785)⁶⁶

To The Honourable
The United States of America in Congress convened,
The
MEMORIAL
of
Nathaniel Sackett, in behalf of himself and
his Associates;

Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas, from various informations received of the proceedings of the British and their associ-

⁶⁶ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, ix, 347. This document was printed by S. Kollock, New York, in 1785. No student can estimate properly the value and success of the Ohio Company of Associates without taking into consideration the other proposals of a like nature which were made to Congress in the same period. The Sackett proposal to rent for an ear of corn a year the splendid parallelogram running across Ohio between the Scioto and Muskingum rivers is in many ways the most interesting rival scheme of that time. Its paternalistic features, as compared with the proposal of the Ohio Company to purchase a tract of land and develop

ates, and the unfriendly conduct of the Indians in the vicinity of the western frontiers of the United States (copies whereof are hereunto annexed,) it is apprehended that danger may arise to the said states, unless suitable measures are speedily adopted for counteracting them; and as it is supposed, that the settlement of a new state, upon the said frontiers, will effectually answer this purpose; it is therefore proposed,

That a tract of country, beginning at the confluence of the rivers *Ohio* and *Scioto*, and extending from thence along the eastern bank of the *Scioto*, to the termination of one hundred miles, thence in a direct line to the southernmost extreme of Lake Erie; from thence along the south-side of the said lake to the termination of one hundred miles from thence to the place where the *White Woman's Creek* empties into the *Muskingum River*; then down the western bank of the *Muskingum River* to its confluence with the *Ohio*; and from thence along the northwestern bank of the *Ohio* to the place of beginning; be granted, together with all mines, &c. and the free navigation of *Lake Erie*, the *Scioto*, *Ohio*, and *Muskingum Rivers*, to Nathaniel Sackett and his associates, in fee simple: Provided always, that to prevent their having an undue influence, and to guard against an aristocracy, neither the said Nathaniel Sackett nor his associates, shall retain to themselves, as his or their proper estate, more than one thousand acres of the said lands for each of them, but

it, outrival any proposal of its day. It seems probable, however, that the influence of its advocates was sufficient to induce General Parsons to seek to locate the Ohio Company Purchase beyond the Scioto River. — Cf. vol. i, li-liv.

shall grant and convey all the residue to other adventurers, as occasion may from time to time occur.

That no consideration be paid the United States therefor, except an ear of Indian corn annually, if demanded, as an acknowledgment of their sovereignty:

That the said Nathaniel Sackett and his associates, shall hold the said tract of country expressly on condition of settlement and cultivation:

That [blank] male white persons, above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, be settled upon the said land, on or before the [blank] day of [blank] one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six; each to be provided with a good musket, bayonet, four pounds powder, and twelve pounds leads; and that no person be admitted to settle upon the said tract of land, who cannot produce satisfactory testimonials of his attachment to the American cause during the late struggle for the establishment of our independence:

That in [blank] years from the arrival of the first adventurers, under this grant, on the said tract of land, there be one male settler thereupon for each [blank] acres:

That each of the first male adventurers, having a family, shall be entitled to one thousand acres for himself, and one hundred for each of his children: That each of the first male adventurers, being a single man, shall be entitled to five hundred acres; and that each settler receiving lands, be obliged to clear and cultivate [blank] acres, for every hundred acres he possesses, within seven years from the time of his settlement thereupon:

That each of the first adventurers, being a single

man, and continuing an inhabitant of the tract of country above described, shall be entitled to receive, in case of his marrying, one hundred acres of land, in addition to the five hundred acres above-mentioned, and subject to the same conditions of cultivation:

That as soon as it can conveniently be done, the whole tract of country within the limits above described, be divided into townships of six miles square, or as nearly so as the limits will admit:

That in each township twenty acres, in the center, be reserved for a house of public worship, school house, parade, and other public uses; and that the fractional parts of townships be appropriated as rewards for such settlers as shall be singularly useful to the community:

That when the settlers find it necessary, and circumstances will permit, they may form a permanent plan of civil government, upon republican principles; and, as citizens of a free, sovereign and independent state, be admitted to a representation in the union, and pay their proportionable part of the public debt:

That effectually to prevent land-jobbing, no one of the settlers be allowed to sell his land, or any part thereof, in the said tract of country, to any person or persons whatever, nor under any pretence whatever, within the space of [blank] years, unless the purchaser actually be or become a settler within the said tract, and shall remain such for the space of [blank] years after such purchase shall be made:

That as one main object of the proposed settlement is to form a barrier against all encroachments, and to secure to the United States the lands comprehended within their limits, which will render expedi-

tion, decision, and vigour in government essentially necessary, military government take place until such an establishment is made upon the lands as will admit of a change; after which the inhabitants shall be governed by laws of their own making, provided they shall not be inconsistent with the confederation of the United States:

That one major-general, (who shall be the commander in chief) and six brigadiers general, be appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, and furnished with blank commissions for the inferior officers (who are to be chosen by the first adventurers out of their number,) and that every officer shall take an oath of fidelity to the United States:

That in order to enable the settlers to defend themselves and the country against all invaders, they be furnished by the United States with artillery suitable for that purpose, and ammunition for the said artillery; all other necessary articles to be provided by the first adventurers at their own expence:

That fort Pitt be the place of rendezvous for the first adventurers; and that they meet there on or before the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six:

That being met they chuse the necessary officers, under the rank of brigadier-general; to whom the major-general (or commander in chief) shall deliver suitable commissions; having first administered to such officers the oath of fidelity to the United States; a certificate of which, together with the names of the officers so chosen, shall be transmitted to the United States in Congress assembled, and deposited among their files:

That the commander in chief, the brigadiers general, and the officers chosen as above, shall before they depart from fort Pitt, meet in council, and determine the route or routes to be taken by the first adventurers, and the places at which the necessary fortifications shall be erected:

That if any settlers shall be found upon the land granted to Nathaniel Sackett and his associates, such pre-occupants having made improvements, or cultivated the land upon which they have settled, shall be considered as being of the company of the first adventurers, and have a preference given them respecting the land improved or cultivated as aforesaid; provided they shall take an oath of fidelity to the United States, and be subject to the government hereby established; and that no person be allowed to remain there who shall refuse to take such oath; the said oath shall be required and administered by the commander in chief:

That the said commander in chief and brigadiers general, together with such other field officers as shall be chosen as aforesaid, have power to exercise government generally within the said tract of land; to grant lands, and to treat, from time to time as occasion may require, with the native Indians for the safety and well-being of the settlers, but not for the purchase of lands.

That your memorialists apprehend, that a grant of land upon the foregoing plan will answer the end proposed, and greatly promote the public good: They therefore

PRAY, *That a grant of the tract above described, to the said Nathaniel Sackett and his*

*associates, conformable to the plan aforesaid,
may pass the great seal of the United States.
And your memorialists, as in duty bound,
shall ever pray, etc.*

NATHANIEL SACKETT,
in behalf of himself and his associates.
New-York, Aug. 22, 1785.

The above Memorial was laid before Congress.

. ⁶⁷

Remarks on the Memorial.

The United States in Congress Assembled, on the 15th day of October 1783. "Resolved, That it will be *wise and necessary*, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States, who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or in reward of their services, as for the accommodation of such as may incline to become purchasers and inhabitants."

The time is now arrived when such a measure to be both "wise and necessary," as circumstances not only permit, but seem loudly to call for it; because the British are fast settling and fortifying their

⁶⁷ We omit the portions of the document relating to alleged British activity to fill the American Niagara frontier with settlers favorable to her interest and to Indian unrest in the West making it necessary to plant a colony there as soon as possible. It is to be remarked, however, that the Ohio Company used no such arguments as these to gain the favor of Congress; also it is plain that the Sackett petitioners counted without their host when they prophesied that England would abandon the lake posts as soon as possible and thus render the frontier more open to Indian raids. The sanity of General Putnam's view of the danger from England along the Great Lakes (Doc. xi) comes out clearly when compared with the Sackett idea as here expressed.

frontiers in our neighbourhood, and offer very great encouragement to settlers. Our posts, now in their possession, will probably be hastily evacuated as soon as they are prepared for it, and our frontiers exposed to the incursions and depredations of any banditti who may chuse to invade them.

It is therefore in contemplation immediately to form a respectable frontier settlement, composed of persons whose attachment to the United States has been evidenced by suitable conduct during the late contest with Great Britain. The situation which has been thought of is supposed to be peculiarly favourable to the purpose, as it includes the two war paths from Lake Erie into the country, viz. between the Pickaway Town and the Waters that fall into that Lake, and between the Black Walnut Creek and the waters that fall into the Lake. These two important passes being in our possession, and properly fortified, the interior country will be immediately rendered secure, and the value of the lands therein very greatly enhanced;—here the hardy soldier may reap the reward of his past labour, and in doing it will render further essential services to his country.

The advantages which will arise to the United States from the proposed establishment are many, and too obvious to need being mentioned: All that led Congress to determine, that the measure would be “wise and necessary,” are among them; and the expence to the union will be no more than a few pieces of artillery, and some ammunition.

With respect to the plan, it must speak for itself; it is supposed to be the best which circumstances will admit of. As the situation of the first adven-

turers will be an exposed one, it is necessary they should be prepared for defence; and that mode of government seems most suitable which is most energetic, and can most expeditiously call into action the force and vigour of the state. A military one is preferred as such; but although this is proposed at the first outset, it is only through necessity, and will be supplanted by civil institution, more friendly to freedom, and compatible with republican principles, as soon as circumstances will permit.

To The Honourable
The United States of North America in Congress
assembled,
The
Memorial
of the
Subscribers hereunto;

Respectfully Sheweth,

That your Memorialists having seen the copy of a Memorial, bearing date the 22d August 1785, which they understand has been presented to your Honourable House, by Nathaniel Sackett, (which said copy is hereunto annexed,) praying for a grant of a tract of land, lying between the river Ohio and Lake Erie, for the purpose of forming immediately a respectable settlement thereupon; beg leave to represent it as our opinion, That such a grant will be productive of essential good consequences to the United States, by securing the interior country from hostile and rapacious incursions; encouraging and making more easily practicable a settlement of that country, greatly enhancing the value of the lands there which will remain the property of the United States, and

thereby rendering them more speedily a more productive fund for the discharge of our national debt, and other public purposes. Under this impression, your Memorialists

Pray, That a grant to the said Nathaniel Sackett and his associates, may pass the Great Seal of the United States, agreeable to the prayer of their Memorial above-mentioned; and your Memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

September 29, 1785.

Signers Lancaster	William Miller	
William Crawford	Alexr Grant	
Jacob Myar	Robert Creight	
John Davis	John Crawford	
Benjamin Vernon	John Michael	
Abraham Henry	Samuel Taylor	
John Stover	William Johnston	
Walter Brady	John Taylor	
Nathl Rutter	George Taylor	
Ja ^s Dunlap	Peter Reilly	
Isaac Richardson	W ^m Henry	
Per Elm-r		
Robt Hamilton		Chester
David Watson	Jn ^o Culbertson	
		Court

Signers	Signers	
	Montgomery County	
Amos Sturgis Cpn	1 Mord ^l Morgan Jr	13
Isaac Rees	2 John Cross	14
John Sturgis	3 Jn ^o Nelsom	15
W ^m Moore	4 Isaac Moore	16
John Elliot Lt	5 Sam ^l Evans	
Rees Moore	6 Tobias Rambo	17
Edward Woodman C ^t	7 Jesse Roberts	18
Ellis Pugh Carpent ^r	8 Tho ^s Rossiter Jr	19
William Elliot	9 Jonat ^a Phillips	20
Moses Coates Jr	10 Elisha Evans	22
Robert Jones	11 Sam ^l Holstein	23
Griffith Rees	12 John Eastburn	24

Signers

Thos Vose	Jon ^a Maynard
Daniel Jackson	Stephen Bliss
Henry Brockhouse	Peter Fowl
Joseph Bliss	Sam ^l Snow
Josiah Jackson	Nath ^l Crane
Will ^m Warren	John Spring
Nath ^l Sherman	Thomas George
Thos Patten	Henry Stow

Signers

Taken at Fred^k Town

Mountjoy Bayly member of assembly	Recompence Stanbury
Joshua Dowe	Wilhellum Poimel [?]
Jon ^a Morris	Jonathan Hutchings
Peter Grosh	David Hutchings
Th: ^o Beatty high Sherref	Jonathan H. Osborn
Elijah Beatty	W ^m King
Henry Bartin	Henry Osborn
Ezekael Beatty	William Duglass
Thos Beatty Junr	James Clark
Isaac Morriss	George Robertson
Hanary Handman	Samuel Clark
William Bentley	Joseph Halsey Jr
Benjamin Stiles Captain ^{es}	Thomas Thomson
Benjamin Stiles Jury Captain	Andrew Thompson
Isaiah Stiles	Joseph Coles
Capt John Darby	Jonathan Coles
Thomas Nesbitt	Joseph Junr Coles
Benjamin Baldwin Major	Henry Line
Ebenezer Lyon	Hezekiah Stiles
Icabod vallentine	Richerd Scuder
	Abner Stiles
	Ezekiel Clark

^{es} The associate of John Cleve Symmes who in 1788 came to the Miami and acquired 30,000 acres near the present Lebanon, Ohio.

XXIX

PETITION OF DELAY AND ASSOCIATES FOR WESTERN
GRANT (1785)⁶⁹

To the Honourable

The United States in Congress assembled The memorial of Henry Delay of Harrison County State of Virginia, John Holes of Essex County State of New Jersey, Cornelius Ludlow of Morris County State of New Jersey, Benjamin Stiles and Henry Enocks both of the County of Washington and State of Pensilvania.—

Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas from various informations received of the proceedings of the Indians in the Western Territory of the United States it is greatly to be feared that danger will arise to the said States unless suitable measures are speedily adopted for Counteracting the apparent designs of our Enemies and it is supposed that a settlement established by Congress on said frontier will effectually secure to the United States a great part of that extensive territory, it is therefore proposed —

That a tract of Country Beginning at the grant given to the inhabitants of Post Vincent⁷⁰ from thence Running up both sides of the Wabash River extending to the grant given to the Indians so as to include one hundred miles in breadth. That the tract of Country above described be given to the Settlers as an encouragement to settle in said Country on as reasonable terms as Congress may prescribe —

⁶⁹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, ii, 538.

⁷⁰ Vincennes, Ind.

And as the situation of the first adventurers will be an exposed one that they should be entitled to [blank] Acres of land as a reward for settling said Country. And for the better enabling the first adventurers to guird and defend themselves and their Country from the Enemy and to increase its population it is therefore petitioned that no person be allowed the privilege of purchasing any of said Country for the space of five Years but those who become settlers on the land.

That all such as are willing to become immediate settlers in that Country shall meet together next spring at any place that Congress may appoint as a place of rendezvous and there to come under military direction and march into the Country in a body —

That Congress appoint a certain Gentleman whom they shall think proper as Commander in Chief of the Company of said adventurers also appoint such other officers under him as they shall judge expedient to Conduct a plan of that importance —

That the first adventurers be Governed by military law until such an establishment is made upon the land as will admit of a change after which the inhabitants shall be governed by the civil law — which is more friendly to freedom and Compatible with republican principles —

Whereas one main object of the proposed settlement is to form a barrier against encroachments of the Enemy and to secure to the United States the lands Comprehended within those limits we therefore humbly request that Congress provide the first adventurers with one Years provision ammunition

and artillery suitable for that purpose all other necessary articles to be furnished by the first adventurers at their own Expence—

That no person be admitted to settle in said Country who cannot give satisfactory testimonials of his attachment to the American cause during the late struggle for Independence.

Should it be thought wise and necessary to form a settlement on the foregoing plan may it please Congress to publish it in the papers that each State may have an equal opportunity of settling—

Your memorialists apprehend that their request being granted will greatly promote the public good and answer the end proposed—

Your memorialists therefore as in duty bound shall ever pray

[Indorsed:]

N^o 26—

Mem Henry Delay

John Hole

Cornelius Ludlow

Benj. Stiles

Henry Enocks

read 27 Dec^r 1785

XXX

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1785)⁷¹

Sir

Accompanying these few Lines your Excellency will receive a plan and Remarks of that part of the

⁷¹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 225.

Western Territory through which an East and West Line has been run agreeable to an Ordinance of Congress of the 20th of May last. — The plan was Copied from the original by M^r William Morris surveyor appointed by Congress from the State of New York. The justice I owe to that Gentlemans merit and abilities, as well as for the active part which he took in forwarding of, and assisting in, the Astronomical business of the Geographers Department when in the Western Territory, will I hope be admitted as a sufficient apology, for my having taken the liberty of mentioning his Name on this occasion.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant

New York 27th Decem^r 1785 Tho: Hutchins

His Excellency the President of Congress.

[Indorsed:]

Letter 27th Dec^r — 1785

Thomas Hutchins

with a plan & remarks upon
part of the W. Territory —

XXXI

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE WESTERN INHABITANTS (1785?)⁷²

[Quotation from petition]

“Petitions, Remonstrances, and decent Representations, have been disregarded. Your Bills of Credit,

⁷² From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 48, 289. This

your vacant Lands, your produce, and your all, has been iniquitously extorted from you, and disposed of, not for an equal and general good; but to depress you, and aggrandise a few; this same spirit of inequality and injustice, has caused the loss of Fleets, of Garrisons, and of armies, in fine, it has been the fruitful source, of all your misfortunes, and all your disgraces."

"Turn your eyes to the events of 1776. That memorable era produced a declaration of Independence, and a Confederation, which when expounded liberally, are, or ought to be, the *Basis* of all the *subordinate* Institutions. They assert and define your Rights,—Study and learn them well, cherish the principles as an immense blessing, as a peculiar gift, bestowed on the favourites of Heaven."—

[Reply]

Good and legitimate Government, will protect individuals against the frauds and oppressions of one another, as also, it will protect the public against the encroachments, and depredations of public enemies: And with equal truth it may be added, that it is also the duty of Government, to protect a man against himself, that is to say against his own passions, follies, and vices; How far the government you have

brief extract from the pen of an unknown spokesman for the Government gives evidence that more petitions were received from the western people—evidently breathing anarchical sentiments—than are recorded in the minutes and papers of Congress. The writer's optimism in believing the Ordinance of 1784 to be a cure-all for the evils complained of, is noteworthy. The slow, toilsome process by which good forms of government were worked out by hard-thinking men in the face of all manner of criticism and crackerbox-oratory, leading to the Ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787, is freshly emphasized by such declarations as this.

lately submitted to, has produced these ends, your own feelings and recollections will furnish ample information—It is needless now, to spend your time in idle complaints, having tasted the bitter Cup of aristocratical domination [as colonies of Great Britain], the way for your deliverance is pointed out, the outlines of a generous and beneficial Compact* is held out to you, it depends on your virtue, and good sense when you will receive the Blessing.

[Indorsed:] Extracts from an address
to the Western inhabitants

XXXII

ACCOUNT OF SOIL AND TIMBER IN THE SEVEN RANGES (1785†)⁷³

A brief account of the Soil and Timber in that part of the Western Territory through which an East and West Line has been Surveyed—agreeable to an Ordinance of Congress of the 20th of May 1785

* The articles expressed in the act of Congress of April 23, 1784.

⁷³ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 229. It is probably impossible for us to imagine with what interest many men awaited the reports of the surveyors who first entered the region west of the Pennsylvania line concerning the character of the soils found and the growths upon them. Trees, generally, were the guides to good soils, the nut-bearing trees being notoriously indicative of superior soil. It was from such material as is afforded by this document that prospectors and associates in land companies derived their material for prospectuses. Often this material was jealously guarded as state secrets, as witness the Ohio Company which declared that surveyors' reports were not public property; surveyors were not allowed to keep copies of their surveys or observations thereon (vol. i, 69).

Beginning on the North bank of the Ohio River, at a point due North from the Western termination of a Line which has been run as the Southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania.

For the distance of Forty six Chains and Eighty six links West from the above mentioned Point, the Land is remarkably rich, with a deep black Mould, free from Stone, excepting a rising piece of ground on which there is an improvement of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Acres, where there are a few Grey and Sand Stones thinly scattered. The whole of the above distance is shaded with large black and white Walnut Trees, also with Black, Red and an abundance of white Oaks, some Cherry Tree, Elm, Hoop-Ash, and great quantities of Hickory, Sassafrax, Dogwood, and innumerable and uncommonly large Grape Vines producing well tasted Grapes of which Wine may be made. All the Hills in this part of the Country seem to be properly disposed for the growth of the Vine. Near the termination of the above mentioned measurement is a thicket of Shoemack, Hazel and Spice bushes, through which a passage was cut for the Chain-carriers. The first of these Bushes produces an Acid berry well answering the purposes of sowering for Punch, the Hazel yield an abundance of Nuts, and the Spice bushes bear a berry, red when ripe of an aromatic smell, as is also the Shrub on which it grows; the berry is about the size of a large Pea, of an Oval shape possessing some Medicinal virtues, and has been often used as a substitute for Tea by sick and indisposed persons.¹⁴ The Dogwood, the

¹⁴ Land companies (and the United States was now about to become such) always emphasized if possible that the regions offered

bark is used by the Inhabitants and is said to be little inferior to Jesuits bark in the cure of Agues; the Tree produces a berry about the size of a large Cranberry when ripe, but something longer and smaller toward the Ends, excellent for bitters; and decoctions made of the buds or blossoms have proved very salutary in several disorders, particularly in Bilious complaints.

The whole of the above described Land is too rich to produce Wheat, the aforementioned rising ground excepted, but it is well adapted for Indian Corn, Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Oats &c and every species of Garden Vegetables, it abounds with great quantities of Pea Vine, Grass, and nutritious Weeds of which Cattle are very fond, and on which they soon grow fat.

Thirty three Chains and fourteen links from the first measured distance, completes one Mile from the Meridian or Place of Beginning. This last distance is high dry Land excellent for the production of Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, and Tobacco, it would also yield good Indian Corn, but not so abundantly as the very rich Lands before described. It is covered with Black, Red and White Oakes, Hickory, Bass-wood, Slippery Elm, Hornbeem, or Iron Wood, Mulberry, Sassarfrax, and some Sycamore the latter on a Brook near to the End of this distance, where there is a great plenty of sand stone excellent for Edge Tools. Here are pea vines, Grass, and a vari-

for sale were perennial apothecary shops, their soils bearing all plants and roots necessary to health and longevity. For a detailed description of the Ohio plants useful as medicine see Hulbert and Schwarze, *Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians*, 157-170.

ety of other vegetation well answering the purposes of fattening Horses, Cows, and Hogs.

For twenty two Chains and thirty seven links further than the completion of one Mile, the Land is extraordinary good, and in some places it is too rich for Wheat, where fine Meadow may be made. It is Timbered with large Locust, Black Walnut, Mulberry, Hickory, Elm, White Ash &c and is pretty free from brush or underwood; and towards the End of this distance, where there is the best of Wheat Land, is an abundance of Hickory and White Oaks.

At Twenty One Chains further the Line crossed over the summit of the End of a Ridge which is about 90 feet high, bearing N 45° E very narrow and composed of a light thin Soil, Shaded with Birch, Hickory, Oaks, Dogwood, scrubby Chesnut and Maple, there are also great quantities of small Grey and Sand Stones dispersed over its surface; but the Land between the above last mentioned distance and this Hill, is abundantly fertile, well adapted to the culture of Indian Corn, Wheat &c and is covered with Black and White Oaks, Hickory, ash, Black Walnut, Mulberry, Shoemack and Grape Vines, and in several places it is tolerably free from brush or underwood.

At Six Chains and sixty links further than the top of the above mentioned Hill is a Brook in which are great quantities of sand Stone, this Brook runs about S 20° W through a narrow fertile piece of low Land fit for Meadow, producing Maple, Hickory, Ash, Sugar Tree, Mulberry, poplar and Beech.

At Fourteen Chains and forty links further the Line reached the top of a steep narrow Ridge, its

perpendicular height nearly 170 feet, the East side, like the East side of almost all the other Ridges in this part of the Country, is very fertile, several parts of it is entirely faced with sand stone, some very large of an excellent grit, and shaded with Oaks, Hickory, Poplar, Mulberry, Chesnut, Dogwood, Grape Vines, Pea-vines, Spikenard, sweet Brier, Raspberry Brier, and Golden Rod, the latter when timely used, and properly applied has been found very officacious in curing the bite of the most venomous Snake.

The Soil on the top of the last mentioned Ridge may justly be said to be composed of about an equal proportion of black mould and Sand, and tho' the soil appears to be light yet it is fit for the culture of Indian Corn, Wheat, Flax, and Melons in great perfection. The summit of this part of the Ridge is almost entirely free from large Trees, but there are an abundance of young small Aspen saplings and scrubby dwarf Oaks on it; this place carries an appearance of having been formerly cleared, or more probably, the destruction of the Timber has been occasioned by the frequent burning of the Woods, and that a new growth has succeeded.

Thirteen Chains further than the last mentioned distance there is level Land, the Line to this place had a gradual descent along the side of the Ridge, over a thin Soil, with yellow Clay, fit for Bricks, a few Inches below its surface, through a thicket of scrubby Dogwood, Oak, Chesnut, Aspen and Hickory saplings and bushes, almost without a single Tree, the whole of this distance was cut through for the Chain carriers to pass. The Soil is nearly similar

with that last described with the addition of a good deal of Sand stone.

At the End of five Chains and sixty three Links further over level Land capable of producing Indian Corn, Wheat &c covered with White Oaks, some very large, also with sugar Tree and free from brush or underwood, reached the termination of another Mile, which completes two Miles from the Meridian.

For the distance of four Chains and Seventy five links further than the completion of the above two Miles, the Land is level and free from underwood, Timbered with Black and White Oaks, Sugar Tree, Ash, Maple, Hickory, and Dogwood, and would abundantly yield Indian Corn Wheat &c.

At Seventeen Chains and seventy links further there is a Spring of wholesome Water, it directs its Course through good Wheat Land shaded with several kinds of useful Timber.

At Ten Chains and thirty five links further are a number of Grey coloured Rocks so very large that they resemble small Houses at a distance, here the Land would produce Wheat and other Grain tho it is much incommoded with Rocks; it is covered with large black and white Oaks, Hickory &c also with a Thicket composed of Dogwood, Sassafrax Shoemack and Locust Bushes, through which a Way was Cut for the Chain carriers.

At the distance of five Chains and twenty links further the Line crossed a Spring, running through good Wheat Land, but very Stoney, and in many places Rocky.

At Nine Chains and thirty Links further the Line reached the top of the South End of a Ridge, the

perpendicular heighth about 100 feet; This distance is good for the growth of almost every kind of Grain, the greater part of which was so much incommoded with underwood that a Way was Cut along it for the Chair carriers.

Seven Chains and twenty links further over a descent of rich Land, well Timbered with Oaks, large Chesnut and Hickory Trees, free from brush, reached a Spring; the Soil here is favourable for the growth of Indian Corn, Wheat and Tobacco.

Eight Chains and twenty seven links further to the summit of a Ridge; the sides of this Ridge are easy in their ascent, the Soil is good for the raising of Wheat and Timbered with large Hickory and Oaks.

From hence to Stoney Brook between two very steep and high Ridges; it is eight yards wide, its bottom is of Slate and Sand Stone, and in many parts of it are large pieces of excellent Coal washed by the Rains from the Neighbouring Hills; it is bordered by low rich Meadow ground, producing Sycamore, White-Walnut, Oaks &c and on it are several good Seats for Mills. The perpendicular heighth of the Easternmost [Ridge] is nearly 180 feet, very steep, of poor blue Slate Land, tho well Timbered and would produce Wheat; the Western Ridge is also steep and 280 feet high, its East side is very fertile, and covered with large Oaks, Hickory, Black Walnut, Dogwood &c and in some parts Rocky, but such is the fertility of the Soil that it would grow Hemp, Indian Corn &c.

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New York Decem^r 27th 1785

[Indorsed:] Remarks on that part
of the W. Territory thro

which the E & W Line has
been surveyed
Thomas Hutchins Esq^r
Dec^r 1785

XXXIII

PETITION OF KENTUCKIANS FOR LANDS NORTH OF OHIO RIVER ⁷⁵

To the Honourable Continental Congress
The Petition of a Number of the true and Loyal Subjects of the United States of America at large most humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners having heretofore been Inhabiters of the different States of America; Since the Commencement of the Contest with Great Britain for the Common cause of Liberty; Have ventured their lives in a Wild uncultivated part of the

⁷⁵ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 48, 235, 247. The story of the petitioning element in Kentucky has been told by Professor J. A. Robertson, *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky* (Filson Club Pub. no. 27). That collection does not include petitions to the general government, of which this is one. On reading this petition Professor Robertson is inclined to think that the list of signers "does not represent the better element, as there do not seem to be many of the prominent family names such as are to be found on my lists." The Squire Boon mentioned was Daniel Boone's brother. The engrossing of lands protested against is mentioned in Petition No. 8 in Professor Robertson's volume wherein the signers complain that many of them are deprived of securing "so much as one hundred acres of land" because of the "private gentlemen who have men employed at this junction in this country at one hundred pounds per thousand for, running round the land, which is too rough a medicine ever to be digested by any act of people that have suffered as we have. . . ." — *Id.* 46.

Continent on the Western Waters of Ohio called by General Name of Kentuckey—Where they have made Improvements; on what they allowed was Kings Unappropriated Lands before the Commencement of the said Contest; and that in the face of a savage Enemy with the utmost hardships and in daily Geopardy of being inhumanly murdered—Your Petitioners further allowed that the Honorable Congress would allow them a Reasonable in Lands for the Services your Petitioner did, in defending and Settling, on their own expence, the Country aforesaid, to the weakening of the Enemy, and the Strengthening of the United States, whenever the common contest with Britain should be desided in favour of America—

In the full Assurance of which your Petitioners Sold all their livings in the Settled parts of the Continent, and have removed with their Wives Families and all their Effects to the Country aforesaid, in order to take possession of their improvements aforesaid— But when they came found almost all their Improvements granted away by a Set of men which Acted or pretended to Act under the late Act of Virginia; which Act, also Allows large grants without any reserve of Settling and improving the same. By which means almost the whole of the lands in the Country aforesaid are Engrossed into the hands of a few Interest^d men, the greater part of which live at ease in the internal parts of Virginia; while your Petitioners are here with their Wives and Children daily Exposed to the Murders of the Savages to whom Sundry of their Acquaintance have fell a Sacrifice since their Arrival though as yet but a Short time;

Again the late Acts of Virginia require your Petitioners to take a New Oath of Allegiance to that State; renouncing all other Kings princes and States; and be true to the State of Virginia only; and the prospect of Military Government taking place shortly in this place; give your Petitioners the greatest apprehension of the most Severe usage unless they comply with their mandates

Your Petitioners considering all those grievances would gladly return into the Settled parts of the Continent again; But having come Seven hundred Miles down the River Ohio, with the expence of the greater part of their fortunes find it Impracticable to return back against the Stream with their Wives and Children, were they to suffer the most cruel death—

Your Petitioners being drove to the Extremity aforesaid, have but three things to chooese; One is to Tarry in this place take the Oath of Allegiance to Virginia, and be true to that State only, and also become Slaves to those Engrossers of Lands and to the Court of Virginia; The other is to Remove down the River Ohio, and land on some part of Mexico and become Subjects to the King of Spain; And the third to Remove themselves over the River Ohio; with their Wives Children and their small Effects remaining; which is now in possession of the Savage Enemy, to whome they are daily Exposed to murders; The Two former appearing to your Petitioner to have a Tendancy to weaken the United States; and as it were Banish the Common Cause of Liberty; Humbly pray the Honorable Continental Congress to grant them Liberty of Taking the latter Choise;

and removing with their Wives Families and Effects to the Indian side of the Ohio, and take possession of the same in the name of the United States of America at large; where your Petitioners suppose to Support themselves in an Enemies Country on their own risque and expence; which they humbly Conceive will have a Tendancy to Weaken the power of the enemy, Strengthen the United States at large, and Advance the Common caus of Liberty—Your Petitioners further pray the Honorable Congress, to grant them liberty of making such Regulations amongst themselves as they shall find necessary to Govern themselves by, being subject to the United States at Large, and no other State or power whatsoever—Your Petitioners Humbly Pray the Honorable Continental Congress to Consider their Case and Grievances in its true light, and grant them such Relief, as You, in your great Wisdom shall see Meet as such meashures which are at this time adopted by Designing men are Likely to Lessen the Exertion of a Great number of people which otherwise are Well attached to the General Cause—And your Petitioners in duty Bound shall ever pray—

Tho ^s : Hargis	John Williamson	Edward Tyle
John Moore	Charles Masterson	Benj ^m : Lin
James Dunbar	Joseph Borth	John Turner
William isdal	John Light	John Redley
Rob ^t : Holmes	Will ^m : Little	Joseph Green
John Johnston	Jonathan Harned	John Green
Jeremiah Johston	Samuell Wells	Adam Grounds
John Thikston	Peter Newkirk	John Felty
Jonathan Thickston	Tobias Newkirk	Sam ^l : Kelly
William Sutherland	Ja ^s : Qurtermus	Moses Cane
Edward Welch	Peter Pohene	John Nelson
Will ^m : Armstrong	John Capp	Tho ^s : Banfield
David Loughead	Elisha Qurtermus	Tho ^s : Patten

Arthur Park	John McOm	Willm: Welch
George Cuavenston	teni Swell	Niclas Shirly
William Mitchell	o Newkirk	Frederick Fore
Willm: Galoway	Nathan Sellar	John Baley
John mitchell	Joseph McClintock	Frederick Dunfield
Ja ^s : Miller	John Swingle	Joseph Oldem
Willm. Mitchell	Ja ^s : Anderson	Willm Winter
George Somers	Joseph Kirkpatrick	John Beson
Willm: Cumins	Mathew Jaferes	Charles Crump
Albert Banta	John Kenedy	Jacob Dosson
Peter Demaree	John Miller	Josiah Walis
John Banta	Adam Wall	John Little
Willm: Drennan	George Black	David Davis
John Shaw	John Sumet	Charles Davis
Jacob Banta	Tho ^s Boyd	Robt: Insworth
James McElharton	John Sellar	James Purse
Cornelius Banto	Nathan Sellers	John Johnson
Anthony Jenkins	David Brinten	Aaron Rawlings
John Galoway	Joseph Borth	Charles Bilderbok
James Galoway	John Light	Jacob Bilderbok
Abraham Banta	Henry Brenten	Tho ^s : Hamilton
Cornelius Voorhes	Reuben Blackford	David Hamilton
John Brookil	John Finn	Willm: Greathouse
Willm: Mitchell	George Hinch	John Greathouse
Hardy Hill	Chris: Schults	Herman Greathouse
Frederied Bowfd	George Reading	Joseph Tumblestone
David Johnson	Honkerson Ashby	John Tumlinson
John Dorland	Andrew Gradry	Jesse Tumlinson
Ja ^s : Theaig	Seneca McRakin	
Jacob Vonmatar	Ja ^s : Delany	Benjam ^s : Tumlinson
John Keath	Ja ^s : Adams	Tho ^s : Kennedy
Basil Stocker	Willm: Logadon	Willm: Hougland
Edward Rewalens	Martin Stull	John Hougland
George Neal	John Martin	Squier Boon
John Huewes	Robt: Gilmore	John Miller
Isaac Imer	Jacob Westervel	Michal Woods
Willm: Clenwell	Gerardis Rekir	Andrew Dodds
James Huard	John Oline	Mikel Kenedy
Moses Williamson	Tho ^s : Applegab	Tho ^s : Collings
Peter Young	Michal paull	Tho ^s : Putnam
Henry Hoos	Willm Irwin	George Rays
Henry Wason	Ja ^s : Steward	Francis Reach
John Cadlett	George Steward	David Kirkwood

Adam Row	Abram: Rommer	Willm Weedwood
John Wm: Privunee	Ja ^s : Johnson	Ja ^s : Gilmore
Adin Harten	Sam ^l : Watkins	[Gilmore?]
Evan Wilson	Jacob Barkman	Sam ^l : Gilmore
Jeremiah Fresar	Edward Irwin	Ja ^s : Logan
Joseph Wm Province	John Irwin	John Logan
Benjamin Hook	Ja ^s : Boys	John McGeo
John Toil	Elijah Hart	Mathew Logan
Henry Wade	Tho ^s Spencer	Sam ^l : Felin
Willm South	Paul Humble	Sam ^l : Gordon
Jesse Crank	Tho ^s : Dillen	John Wilkeson
Joseph Griffnwalt	Jacob Huffman	Dinis Davis
Aus ^t : Miller	Christ ^r : Hufman	Tho ^s : Pownser
Sam ^l : Mason	Conrad Carito	Jacob Spears
Lewis Hickman	Sa. Light	Abram: Powell
Philip Mason	Sam ^l : Lee	John Moires
John Massey	Ja ^s : Dougherty	Daniel Spears
Edward Soomes	Ulunik Hernbank	Benjamin Doslie
[Toomes?]	Martin Curts	Mical Thomas
Peter Buzzard	Peter Bordmess	Mich ^l : Little
Ezekiel Hickman	James Faye	Rudolph Huffman
Tasyrk Greenwalt	John Overall	Tho ^s : Hargis
John Unsel	Peter Loves	John Moore
Mikel Teatus	Denis Downings	Ja ^s : Dunbar
Willm: Onie	John Williams	Matthias Hook
John James	Spensor Collings	Jacob Funk
Richard James	George Crist	Henry Houglan
Samuel Wadmes	Willm: Collings	Tho ^s : Talbort
Jonathan Cunningham	John Lee	William Look
Benjamin Caselman	George Eward	John Greenlen
Willm: Burness	[Coward?]	David McQuall
Daniel James	Benjamin Cleaver	Willm Lin
Samuel Miller	Francis Daves	Adam Money
Joseph Liston	Ja ^s : McKee	John Jones
Isaac White	John Hose	David Beach
Solomon Resiner	Hectr: Simpson	Tho ^s : Stansbury
Jacob Coseman	John Wager	John Vantreas
Jacob Salmon	Isaac Froman	Joseph Inlow
John Esery	Joseph Mounts	Willm: Bennet
Martin Colmore	Ja ^s : McCollach	Ja ^s : Hamilton
Benjamin Caselman	James Campbell	John Hamilton
Edward Liston	Hen ^r : Campbell	Willm: Ewing
Jacob Doom	Samuel Dunn	Joseph Sullivan

Samuel Glass	Robt: Brualer	Joseph Sulavan [Jr.†]
John White	Gro: Campbell	Jacob Drenning
John Airwin	Robt: Thirkman	Daniel Jones
John Dougen	Saml: Thirkman	Robt: Hamilton
James Hamilton	Willm Lawrence	John Stuart
Henry Richards	George Clark	J. Cross
John Liston	Michal Kirkham	Charles west
Tho ^s : Dowdall	George Tayler	John West
John Fregas	John Hunt	John Cleer
Joseph Brown	Saml: Mason	Jesey Stuart
Joseph Thompson	Mathias Hooke	Mickel kintner
Tho ^s : Pursel	Jacob Funck	Peter Paul
Reuben Cass	Moore	Isaac Boulder
Judiah Huntington	Tho ^s . Roach	Cumfort Bualer
Charles Dunkin	Andrew Corn	Gabl: Melter
Zachariah Hold	George Corn	Henry Prayter
Theophilus Cox	Burgis White	John Rice
Jas: Pursely	Robt Brown	Harry Hougland
Mashesh Carter	Tho ^s : Hart	Tho ^s Talbort
Hugh Begarstof	Tho ^s Cunningham	William Look
Joseph Johnson	Charles Mason	John Grunter
Charles Secomp	John Write	Willm: Harker
Robt: Sweny	James Brown	David Hawkins
Moses Speed	Willm Brown	Willm: Chraven
Smith Harsborough	Allen Griffin	Zacharia Dye
Jas: Brown	Richard Moore	John Thompson
Joseph Little	Hugh Jackson	John Hunter
Daniel Williams	Jeremy Hardese	John Grundy
John Ligwald	Ephrm: Gilding	Jas: Thompson
Willm: Rice	Gro: Gilmore	Tho ^s : Whithedge
Tho ^s : Cavet	Jas: Burk	Joseph Grundee
James Neavil	Mikel Tedenhaver	David Hockins
Amasa Frisel	Tho ^s Johnson	William Overall
Dinnes Pursel	Mathew Rogers	Harrison Overall
Benjamin Byard	Patr ^k . Gordon	William Hopkins
John Townapend	Willm Sweden	Willm: Collings
Benjamin Petten	Joseph Conaway	Willm: Colings
John Heart	John Glasher	George Grundy
Samuel Harris	Charles Young	Tho ^s Phillips
Stephen Harris	Alex ^r : Tutch	Tho ^s Stone
John Mayhue Haris	Jas: Toby	Tho ^s Senderson
Asuenah Harris	Jo ^s : Mathews	Willm: Clove
Jas: Haris	John Ruth	Cornelius Bogard

Thos. Welch	James Johnson	Joshua Cleaver
John Williams	Saml: Criss	Edward Skidmore
John Campbell	Charles Black	John Pook

XXXIV

HUTCHINS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS
(1786)⁷⁶

Sir

I had the honour of writing to your Excellency the 8th of July, when I informed you of my arrival at Pittsburg, and of my intended departure for this place: here I waited for the arrival of the Surveyors untill the 21st of the same Month, when those from the Eastern States, as also from the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland arrived:” On the same day I conveyed to them my sentiments in a Letter of which the following is a Copy.

“Gentlemen

“In consequence of a Report made by the Indian Commissioners of the friendly disposition of the Indians to Congress, that August Body has been pleased to order you Gentlemen and myself to this part of the Country to execute such parts of their Ordinance as respects the Geographers Department—I therefore desire your immediate attend-

⁷⁶ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 249, with enclosures from General Tupper, Colonel Harmer, and Jacob Springer.

⁷⁷ The surveyors appointed were Benjamin Tupper (Massachusetts), William Morris (New York), Alexander Parker (Virginia), James Simpson (Maryland), Robert Johnson (Georgia), Isaac Sherman (Connecticut), Absalom Martin (New Jersey), and Edward Dowse (New Hampshire).—*Journals of Congress*, iv, 700.

ance to assist me in running the East and West Line mentioned in the Ordinance of Congress passed May the 20th 1785; also to carry into effect such further parts of said Ordinance as relate to our duty.

With every sentiment of respect

I have the honour to be

Gentlemen

your most obedient

and very hble servant

Tho: Hutchins

Camp at the Intersection
of the West bounds of Penn-
sylvania with the Ohio

21st July 1786—

To the Gentlemen Surveyors”

The 22^d I received a Letter from the Gentlemen
Surveyors of which the following is a Copy.

“Sir

“After carefully perusing your Letter of the 21st
“Instant addressed to the Surveyors collectively—
“With the greatest regard for the service to which
“it relates and particularly that of carrying into
“effect, the Ordinance of Congress of the 20th of
“May 1785. We announce our disposition of ren-
“dering you every assistance, not incompatible with
“the principles of safety—Made sensible, of the
“general ill temper of the Indians, from a variety
“of corroborating circumstances and the partial
“mischief which has resulted from that disposition,
“We think it our duty to inform you, as well for the
“publick good as our present protection, that a body
“of Troops will be necessary, to cover us in our
“operations—with every sentiment of respect we

“submit this to your consideration—In the mean
“time we have the honour to be”

“Sir

“your most obedient

“and very hble servants

“In behalf of the Surveyors—Signed—

“Benj^a Tupper”

“To Thomas Hutchins Esquire”

The aforesaid answer occasioned my immediately writing to Lieut Colonel Harmer Commandant of the Troops in the following words

“Sir

The papers which I have the honour to enclose for your perusal contains a request of the Gentlemen Surveyors to assist me in carrying into effect the Ordinance of Congress passed May the 20th 1785; also their answer and reasons for not immediately complying with my requisition;—The truth of the Information on which they have founded their opinions, to me, seems not to be doubted; but even if it was, as the Matter now stands, my operations are equally effected, as in either case, I am deprived of their assistance.—The good of the service therefore constrains me humbly to request that you will be pleased to order as soon as possible such a number of Troops to cover the Surveyors as in your opinion will be sufficient for their protection—The exceeding great anxiety of Congress to have as much as possible of the Lands in the Western Territory surveyed with the utmost dispatch; and conceiving the success of my expedition to be so intimately connected with the most important Interests of the federal Government that a second failure would be

calamitous indeed. — It therefore becomes my indispensable duty to endeavour to persue every method in my power to fulfill the expectations of Congress; and as an application to you, seems to be the only one left me; I am confident from your well known Zeal for the service, and the experience I have already had of your readiness cheerfully to comply with every measure calculated to promote the publick good, that you will be pleased to grant my request.

With every sentiment of regard and Esteem
July 22nd 1786

I have the honour to be

Sir

To Lieut. Coll. Harmer
Commandant

your most obed^t and
very humble servant

Tho: Hutchins''

In consequence of the above Letter Captain Hamtramck immediately marched with part of three Companies and arrived here the 5th Instant, and on the 8th he was joined by the remainder of his detachment amounting in the whole, including officers, to about 150 Men, who are detained for want of provisions. — On the same day I applied to Captain Hamtramck (who cheerfully evidences the best disposition to support every measures calculated to promote the good of the service) for, and immediately obtained, as many Soldiers, as provisions could possibly be collected to support during the time it would take to complete the East and West Line of the first Range, beginning at the place where I ended last year. — The 10th I finished the north side of the Range, and set a Surveyor to run it into Townships which he is now industriously employed in doing.

On my return to Captain Hamtramcks Encampment which was on this day, I had the mortification to find, notwithstanding every exertion in his power for the obtaining Provisions, he was still without any, except, a small precarious supply of fresh Meat: However, he has the strongest assurances that the Contractor will furnish a supply by the 15th Instant, when the Troops will immediately proceed with the Surveyors.

The day on which I set out to Survey the aforementioned Range, I received a Letter from Lieut. Coll. Harmer, of which the following is a Copy.

“Fort Harmer, at the Mouth of the Muskingum
“26th July 1786”

“Sir

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt
“of your favour of the 22nd Instant enclosing me a
“Copy of your Letter to the Gentlemen Surveyors
“and their answer thereto, by which I observe you
“request me to order such a number of Troops to
“cover the Surveyors as in my opinion will be sufficient for their protection—I shall order the three
“Companies, which are at present stationed at the
“Merigo bottom,⁷⁸ under Command of Captain Hamtramck to remove from thence directly, to your
“Encampment for the purpose of covering you as
“effectually as lays in his power.—Captain Hamtramck’s command will consist of about one hundred & fifty Men—I have directed him to converse
“with you upon this subject, and as he will be on the
“spot, to make the best arrangement he can, for
“Escorting and Guarding the Surveyors—If this
“force should be found insufficient, upon your re-

⁷⁸ Mingo Botton near Steubenville, O.

“quest to me, Captain Hamtramck shall be rein-
“forced from hence with another company—If any
“thing material should transpire, I beg you to send
“me early Intelligence thereof—I shall be happy to
“hear from you frequently, where you are, and how
“the business goes on.”

“I have the honour to be

“with very great esteem

“Sir

“Your most obedient Servant”

“Captain Hutchins

“Jos. Harmer”

Geographer to the United States.”

I beg leave to observe that my making a second requisition for Troops will very much depend on the nature of the Intelligence I shall receive by the return of the Messenger sent by me from Pittsburg to the Indian Towns. On the 11th Instant I received a few lines from him, of which the following is a Copy.

“Lower Sundusky 19th July 1786”

“Sir

“I arrived at this place the 15th after a tedious
“Journey occasioned by my Horse being lame—I
“was received very well by the Indians—No Chiefs
“at home only two old Men, who told me that the
“other Chiefs belonging to this Town were gone to
“Canada, and that it was out of their power to go
“with me, but would be willing could they leave
“home—Tomorrow I shall set out for the Upper
“Towns, where I here there are no Chiefs at home,
“but are all out a hunting: I expect I shall be de-
“tained there some days to get them together.”

“I am Sir with respect”

“To M^r Hutchins”

“Jacob Springer”

Before I conclude this Letter or rather narrative of facts I beg leave only to take up as much of your Excellency's Time as to inform you that the Surveyors are arrived, all but those from the States of Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina, the latter is hourly expected; and from the favourable appearance of circumstances, I have great reason not only to hope, but expect, that I shall be able to completely finish the surveying of thirteen Ranges by the first of December next, when I purpose returning to New York. —

As Occurrences arise worthy your Excellency's attention, I shall embrace the earliest opportunity of communicating them. —

I have the honour to be
with the greatest Respect
Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant

Camp at the Intersection of Tho: Hutchins
the West bounds of Pennsylvania
with the River Ohio 13th Aug^r 1786—
[Indorsed:] Letter 13 Aug. 1876

Tho^r Hutchins
Read 11 Sept. 1786

XXXV

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1786)⁷⁹

I had the honour of writing to your Excellency from Pittsburg the 8th of July last, when I men-

⁷⁹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 257.

tioned my having sent a Messenger to the Wyandott, Delaware and Shawanoe Nations requesting a chief from each of them to accompany the Surveyors during the Time of their being employed in the Western Territory. And on the 13th of August I transmitted a brief account of the Occurrences relative to the Geographers Department for your Excellencies perusal.—Since the last mentioned Period I have been indefatigably employed (even Sundays not excepted) in measuring the East and West Line, and it is with pleasure I inform your Excellency that I am now engaged in the seventh Range, and am proceeding as rapidly as the nature of the Country admits of. I could here enumerate many embarrassments occasioned by mirey Swamps and the ruggedness of several parts of the Country, but as both my duty, and Inclination, leads me rather to surmount, than complain of, difficulties, I will detain your Excellency no longer on this disagreeable subject, but proceed to inform you of the arrival of my Messenger from the Indian Towns, which was on the Evening of this Day.—The enclosed paper⁸⁰ signed by himself contains the substance of his transactions with the Indians: from which it clearly appears to me, that my finishing the thirteen Ranges this season, will in a great measure, if not solely, depend on the protection which will be afforded by the Troops.—Colonel Harmer who upon all occasions where the service requires it, cheerfully furnishes every Assistance in his power, has detached all the force he can consistently spare, about 196 Men, under the Command of Captain Hamtramck, a spirited, Active and good Officer who with his Detachment have been

⁸⁰ Doc. xxxvii.

for some time past, and still are detained at the Intersection of the West bounds of Pennsylvania with the Ohio, for want of Provisions to enable him to March and Cover the Surveyors.—Captain Hamtramcks Exertions to forward the service merits more praise than I have words to express: but Notwithstanding his best endeavours, the want of Provisions has put it out of his power to afford me a larger Escort than a Subaltern and thirty Men.—I am now advanced in the Wilderness more than thirty eight Miles, and all the Meat we get depends on the precarious supplies of a couple of hunters, whose success hitherto has been such that the detachment with me have been without Meat for more than five days together.⁸¹—If circumspection and good Conduct alone were sufficient to frustrate the designs of evil disposed Indians, Lieut. Kersey, who Commands the few Soldiers with me, would be ample protection: but I humbly conceive it may be presumed, that the smallness of his Party, would rather induce, than be able to repel, an attack, more especially, as they are every Day divided, one half remaining for the protection of the Camp, while the other half cover me in my operations.—The above hints are only mentioned to convey to your Excellency a faint Idea of my present situation: For be assured, that I am

⁸¹ The genial picture of novelists and novelist-historians portraying the western hunter or pioneer as revelling daily in the game secured by his "trusty rifle" is sadly upset by the few real records we have of real men. The Indians on the Ohio were often in a state of starvation (A. B. Hulbert, Washington's "Tour to the Ohio and Articles of The Mississippi Company," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, xvii, 481) and, in the present instance, we see soldiers well armed unable to supply the camp.

determined to carry the Ordinance of Congress respecting the Geographers Department into effect, unless prevented by superior force or the inclemency of the season.—As this Epistle was written in a hurry and at a late hour of the night, I hope your Excellency will be pleased to excuse any inaccuracies in it.

I have the honour to be with every
Sentiment of Esteem and Respect
Your Excellency

Camp on the East and most obedient and
West Line 38 Miles from most humble servant
the Ohio. 11 O'Clock at Night Tho: Hutchins
13th September 1786—
[Addressed:]

Publick Service
His Excellency
The President of Congress
New York

Letter 13 Sept' 1786
Tho' Hutchins
read 3 Oct 1786
enclosing the report of Jacob Springer
respecting the temper and conduct
of the Indians—

XXXVI

SPRINGER TO HUTCHINS (1786)⁸²38 Miles on the East and West Line
13th Sept 1786

Sir

Since my arrival at Lower Sandusky after the 15th of July from which place I had the honour of writing you on the 19th—I set out for Pipes Town distant 35 Miles, and the 23rd had the satisfaction of reaching it. The Indians at that place I found in such a state of Intoxication owing to spirituous Liquors as rendered them unfit for business of any kind. From thence I proceeded to the Wyandott Towns (immediately) at Upper Sandusky which is about 6 Miles further, here I stayed one day and was informed that the Indians together with Capt. Pipe⁸³ were sober which determined me the next day to go back to Pipes Town, on my arrival there, I produced the Instructions which the Geographer had charged me with, together with his address to the Indians; Upon which Captain Pipe replied, that, he thought Us in a great hurry to survey the Lands that as a preparatory to the business it was in his opinion We should drive off and exterpate if possible the Cherokees and Mingoes whom he said might be very troublesome to Us.—He finally told me that I must wait untill the Half King of the Wyandotts returned from hunt-

⁸² From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 253.

⁸³ Delaware chieftain uniformly hostile to the whites; he was a leader of the party which burned Crawford to the stake four years before; both had been parties to the treaty signed in 1778 at Fort Pitt between the Delawares and the United States.

ing upon what ground he then was none of them knew, or I would have set out to him—On the 25th I returned to the Wyandott Towns at Upper Sandusky, and on the 28th of July I was seized with a Fever at that place where I remained ill and prevented my leaving it untill the 30th of August. during my detention there the Half King returned from his hunt and on the 2nd of Sept^r I had a Conference with him, and the Indian Speech accompanying this, together with a string of Wampum, will shew the Contents.—Had I not have fallen Sick I should have gone to the Shawanoes Towns—though strongly advised against it by the Wyandotts and Delawares who said positively that there was danger of being killed from the Mingoes and Cherokees who frequently were in the Shawanoe Towns. When I recovered, the season fast elapsing, and apprehensive of the Geographers uneasiness, I concluded immediately to proceed to Fort M^cIntosh where I arrived the 10th of Sept^r Escorted by three Indians and one I hired to look up my Horse, being too much weakened by sickness to do it myself.—It is my opinion that the Chiefs of the Wyandotts and Delawares will not consent to their young Men committing any hostilities upon the Surveyors without first desiring them to leave off surveying.—But what the Banditti consisting of about 200 Men composed of different Nations known by the names of the Cherokees and Mingoes, may do, I cannot take upon me to say.

I am with respect

To M^r Thomas Hutchins

Jacob Springer

The following is a Copy of a Speech of the Half King of the Wyandotts, delivered by the Half King, and agreed to by Captain Pipe who was present.

“My Friends and Brothers—

“We know what you all say, and Captain Pipe
“knows the same—You always tell me to let you
“know if the southern Indians²⁴ are for any Mis-
“chief—Now I tell you for to take care of them—
“Your people pass and repass through our Country
“and we never molest them—

“My Friends ad Brothers

“Now I tell you my reason that the Chiefs can-
“not comply with your request to come and deliver
“Up the Land,* for We are trying to bring the back
“Nations to terms (meaning the Ottawas Chepawas,
“Poutawatamies and Miamies) as well as ourselves
“and we must hold a Council with them first before
“we can speak any with you concerning the above
“mentioned lands.

“My Brothers

“If you would call a Council with the back Na-
“tions [Ottawas etc.] it would be very much in your
“favour and likewise in ours, for I am very much
“afraid that all We can say will be to little purpose
“with them—

“My Friends and Brothers

“I am now just between two fires for I am afraid
“of you and likewise of the back Nations.

²⁴ The Cherokees are meant by this allusion to “Southern” tribes. To this “banditti” is attributed the attack on the Ohio Company’s settlement at Big Bottom in 1791.

* The Messenger told the Interpreter to tell the Indians that the Lands were already given up, that he wanted them to send some of their Chiefs with the Geographer, they replied that it should remain as it was expressed and not a word be altered.

“My Brothers

“If you have anything to say don’t keep it in
“your Hearts but let me know—You sent your
“Friend here to me and I have heard all you had to
“say, and now I send four of my people back with
“him for fear of any accident might happen him on
“the Way and then I should be to blame for it—
“Now my Brothers I send my People to you I expect
“you will take care of them and not let them be hurt.

“Now my Friends and Brothers I take you
by the hand.

“Gave a string of Black and White
Wampum.”⁸⁵

“Upper Sandusky

2nd Sept’ 1786

“To M^r Thomas Hutchins
at Fort Pitt.”

XXXVII

FERGUSON ON INDIAN HOSTILITIES (1786)⁸⁶

Fort Pitt Sept’ 14th 1786

A man who for many reasons wishes his name
not to be known makes the following Report

That he was made prisoner Six years ago by the
British and Indians and has since generally resided
in the Indian Country, that he left lower Sandusky
the 5th Instant, that in the course of last Spring the
Nations on the Waters of the South side of Lake

⁸⁵ Belts of white wampum signified peace; those of black, war;
the mixture used in this instance was significant of an undecided
attitude.

⁸⁶ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 279.

Erie, on the Miamis and Wabash held frequent Councils amongst themselves, that afterwards some from each of the Nations went to the Northward to hold a Council with the six Nations, that a great number of Chiefs were in Council a considerable Time at a place to the North of Lake Ontario, that no Interpreter or Person who understood English or was not called to this Council was admitted, that the Wyandott Chiefs were there when M^r Springer (a Messenger from Capt. Hutchins) arrived at the lower Sandusky, and returned to lower Sandusky, the day, or the day before that M^r Springer sett off from upper Sandusky to go back to Capt. Hutchins (Upper Sandusky is distant from the lower thirty Miles) — That seventy Warriors of the six Nations were expected soon after who with the Chiefs of the Wyandotts Delawares &c were to go to the Shawanoes Towns where a large body of Indians were already collected with hostile Intentions, the reason of their being already assembled is their having received information that their country is to be surveyed which they are determined to oppose at all events — This is not only the sentiment of those already assembled, but that of all the young Men of the Indian Nations, who say that they will put their old Men Women and Children behind them and will defend their Country to the last extremity, if they are beaten they will destroy what they cannot carry off and will remove to the setting of the Sun — They will give up all within the Pennsylvania Line, for that they have promised, but no more. They are determined that the Line now Cutting by Pennsylvania shall bound them to the Sun rising, and the

Ohio shall be the boundary between them and the big Knives⁸⁷—They have frequently enquired if Captain Hutchins was out and say that the moment they hear of his beginning to survey five hundred Men will March from the Shawanoes Towns to cut him off—that this will be the case the informant verily believes, for they all seem greatly exasperated and they are more united and better prepared in all respects for War, than ever they were during the time of his residence among them—He adds that just before he left lower Sandusky he was informed that some of the young Men intended to kill M^r Springer who was then at Upper Sandusky. that he immediately dispatched a Man and Horse to bring him to where he was, but Springer was gone before the arrival of the Man at upper Sandusky—that he was told, that when the purport of Springers Message was known at the Shawanoes Towns the young Men were so angry at it, that they would not suffer their Chiefs to hold a Council, which is customary when they receive any News of consequence—he further says, that thirteen Scalps and four prisoners were brought into the Shawanoes towns that two of the Prisoners Women, were burned, they were Mother and Daughter of the name of Moore their Names were known by Papers found with them.

I do certify that the above is a true Copy of the Intelligence delivered by the above mentioned Person to me.

Signed

W^m Ferguson Capt.
of Artillery

⁸⁷ The Virginians.

XXXVIII

SURVEYORS TO HUTCHINS (1786)⁸⁸Camp, near the Ohio, 5 miles below little beaver
rivulet October 1 1786

Sir

We were honoured with your letter of this date with the several papers that accompanied it; upon mature deliberation and a particular reference to them, we conceive eminent danger in a prosecution of the business upon an extensive scale, we are fully perswaded of Major Hamtramck's vigilance in affording us that military protection, which with pain we observe is necessary from the present hostile intentions of the Indians— How far the operation of our opinions in submission to your request may effect the political interest of the United States let the event decide—

With respect to our personal safety we conceive ourselves rather bound by the nature of our employments (unless ordered otherwise) to view with regret, rather than caution against; We will, altho incompatible with our interest, afford every assistance in completing surveys to the fifth range, or as far beyond as the Geographer may deem prudent and necessary—

You remind us of the consequences that impend our operations, & on their success you particularly dwell, Most of us have felt for our country, and we have the confidence to reply that next to ourselves, we would disregard every other consideration; you remind us also of the imbecility of the Public Treas-

⁸⁸ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 273.

ury, we are sorry for it, & can assure you it does not stand as the only instance wherein most of us had reason to lament it—However, flattered with the confidence you have hitherto reposed in us, and assured of the purity of your intentions, we hope our reputations may be shielded from the poison of illiberal reflection, being well aware of the delicacy that attends an opinion on matters so important as you have represented— We have the honour to be with

Great Respect

Sir

your most obedient humble serv^{ts}

To

Thomas Hutchins Esquire
Geographer to the United
States

Benj Tupper
W^m. W. Morris
Absalom Martin
James Simpson
Sam^l Montgomery
Mich^l. Duffy
And^r. Henderson
Charles Smith

[Indorsed:] Rec^d 1 Oct.

XXXIX

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1786)⁸⁹

Sir

The last Letter I had the honour of writing to your Excellency was dated the 13th of September, 11 o'clock at night 38 Miles on the East and West Line, when I transmitted the Occurrences of the

⁸⁹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 261.

Geographers Department and of my situation at that Time.—I am now to inform your Excellency that in the afternoon of the 18th of the same Month, when I had progressed almost 43 Miles, as I was superintending survey in the eighth Range, I received from Major Hamtramck by Express, the Intelligence respecting the hostile intentions of the Indians, contained in the enclosed papers N^o. 1 and 2; which I layed before the surveyors then with me who absolutely refused proceeding any further on the surveying business: and after advising me to inform the other surveyors with the Intelligence I had received, gave it as their opinion, that I ought immediately to retire to Major Hamtramcks detachment then at the Ohio, or untill I should meet him in case of his having Marched to Cover me.— The next morning after I had written by Express to the surveyors on the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Ranges, those of the 7th 8th and 9th being with me, and cautioned them, against discharging their Chain Carriers and hunters untill they should see me; to lose no time in following my example, I set out, and on the 21st about 2, o'clock P.M. met Major Hamtramck who had already advanced with his whole Force 15 Miles for my protection, the whole of his provisions amounting to two thousand weight of flour and Eight small Bullocks.— Here it was thought adviseable, as my hopes of completing the thirteen Ranges from the present complexion of affairs, were to my great mortification, rendered very doubtful, to wait the arrival of the surveyors who were hourly expected, and take their opinion relative to their proceeding to survey the aforementioned Ranges including the seventh

Range, should they not be inclineable to survey any further. — I had in contemplation, rather than relinquish the business, the contracting my operations to so small a Scale, that the troops might more effectually Cover the surveyors. — On the 22nd finding the surveyors had not yet arrived, the Troops retired three Miles further to a strong piece of ground, with plenty of water, where they Encamped. — The morning of the 23rd. I desired the surveyors with me, would favour me with their sentiments, respecting their returning to business; who declined giving an answer, untill the arrival of the other Gentlemen; at the same time they recommended our retiring to the Ohio and there wait for them. — Agreeably to their recommendation, I applied to Major Hamtramck to put his Troops in motion, which he accordingly did, and in the afternoon reached the Ohio where we Encamped. — The 24th the Troops occupied a strong and commanding situation with the Ohio close in the Rear. the same day Captain Martin who had been employed surveying the second Range in stead of Captain Hoops, whose indisposition obliged him to decline the business for the present, arrived. — This morning in company with the Commanding Officer I viewed the ground for proper situations to erect three Redoubts on; and the whole detachment, excepting the Guards, were immediately set to work; — About 11. o'clock A.M. I received a Letter from Mr. William Mc'Mahan a Magistrate for Ohio County, Dated the 21st of September 1786, of which the following is a Copy.

[Paper No. 1]

“Sir, The difficulty of procuring hands, occasioned

“by the late alarms, is beyond conception.—Several have engaged and disappointed me. Weeling is become a Garrison, the Inhabitants to a Man, as high as Zeans’s⁹⁰ are fled, except Tomlinson and Shepherd, and a few about the Mingo bottom, who are building Block-houses.—What is to be the consequence I know not. however no pains shall be wanting on my part.—The Block-house near Us called Cox’s Fort is about being erected by Captain Swearingham.⁹¹ I cannot conceive any danger as yet, however it is prudent to be guarded.—The alarm came by a certain M^r. Newland who came from the Indian Towns and made Oath, a number of the Tribes had agreed to strike the surveyors and Weeling settlement.—That he was under promise not to inform, or spread the alarm, except to tell Zeans and Shepherd to be on their guard; the former of these (Zeanes) has made every necessary preparation. The latter (Shepherd) has made none; rests assured, they cannot spare their Men in such numbers as Clarks Expedition is now in their Country.—Newland says a number of Indians from the West of Lake Erie had joined the others.”—

The 25th, continued building the Redoubts.—The 26th the Soldiers who had been guarding Major Sergeant on the fifth Range, arrived and reported they left the Major about 12 Miles below Yellow Rivulet; they expected him here in a day or two.—This afternoon the Redoubts being finished, the Troops En-

⁹⁰ Ebenezer and Jonathan Zane made a settlement on the present site of Wheeling, W. Va., in 1769.

⁹¹ Probably Captain Thomas Swearingin, a famous Ohio Valley pioneer.

camped in the rear of them. — About 7 o'Clock this Evening Lieut. Ford arrived in five days from Fort Harmer at the mouth of the Muskingum, and delivered me a Letter from Colonel Harmer dated the 21st September 1786 — The following is an Extract from it.

[Paper No. 2]

“I sincerely hope that you may meet with no interruption from the Indians, but I have received Intelligence that a large body of them, are assembled at the Shawanoe Towns with hostile Intentions, which account I have transmitted to Captⁿ. Hamtramck, that he may be upon his guard. — I have not the least intention that this Intelligence should operate so as to deter the surveyors from prosecuting their business. — I have written to Captain Hamtramck that I would rather sacrifice a Company than not persevere in supporting you.” —

Lieut. Ford also brought Information that all the Inhabitants below Weeling had deserted their houses; and that a house near Grave Rivulet 12 Miles below Weeling had been lately attacked by Indians: who killed a Woman and a Girl, and wounded a Boy whom they made Prisoner; that they fired upon some White-Men and killed one of them, that the Men returned the fire, killed three of the Indians, defeated the rest, and released the wounded boy.

The 27th of September about 12 o'clock dispatched a third Express (the two former having miscarried) in search of Colonels Sproat and Sherman. — The 28th Major Sargent arrived, in consequence of his having received an answer dated the 21st of September to a few lines he had written Major Hamtramck

a day or two before. — My Express to him of the 18th having never come to hand. The 29th Captain M^c-Curdy arrived from Fort M^cIntosh and reported that the day before his departure two white men Indian traders, and an Indian came there, who declared that near to where the East and West Line crossed the Tuscarawas Path ⁹² they came to an Indian Encampment, where there were two or three Indian Boys, of whom the Indian with them asked several questions in different languages, but obtained no answer. that on looking round them they discovered twelve or fifteen small marks, upon which the Indian told them they must not stay there as the Indians of that Camp were for War. that they instantly left the Camp, when a Gun was fired by way of signal as they supposed, as immediately after they heard the yellings of Indians, who to the number of about a dozen pursued them upwards of six Miles, but being mounted on good horses lightly loaded they escaped safe to M^cIntosh.

This Morning Lieut. Bissell with a party was detached in search of the troops Escorting Colonels Sproat and Sherman on the 3rd and 4th Ranges, also to Reconnoitre to the End of the East and West Line to make discoveries. — The 30th an opportunity offering I transmitted Colonel Harmer the Occurrences of my department to this Day. — Late this

⁹² The "Great Trail" from Pittsburgh across what is now Ohio. — A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, ii, 107. The records of the surveyors of the Seven Ranges will make possible a more accurate delineation of the Indian trails of eastern Ohio than has been attempted. Conditions in Washington at the present time make this research practically impossible. The editor hopes to present this data in an appendix to a succeeding volume of these *Collections*.

Evening the Express that had been sent in search of Colonels Sproat and Sherman, returned and reported, that Sherman was at the Mingo Bottom, to which place he went for Provisions for himself and party, and he supposed Sproat was with him, from the number of tracks he discovered leading from their Ranges that Way. — As I was now satisfied respecting the safety of Colonels Sproat and Sherman, and being anxious to know the sentiments of the Surveyors relative to their immediately proceeding to business, I was induced to write them a Letter of which the following is a Copy.

“Gentlemen,

For your mature consideration, I think it my duty to lay before you the enclosed Intelligence: and previously to your honouring me with your answer and opinion, which I desire may be as soon as possible, I beg leave to inform you, that Major Hamtramck has declared to me his readiness to Cover you Gentlemen in the course of your duty as far as possible with the number of Troops under his Command: and I have the pleasure to assure you that I am also ready to proceed with you. — Should any of you Gentlemen happen to be of opinion, your accompanying me to completely finish the thirteen Ranges this Season may not comport with your personal safety, you will afford me your assistance in finishing the fourth Range at least, with as many more Ranges as you may determine on; that Congress may be enabled to proceed to the Sale of part of their Lands immediately after my return with your Surveys to New York.

It would be unnecessary for me to remind you Gentlemen how much depends on the success of our oper-

ations: however, you will no doubt take into consideration the poverty of the publick Treasury, the want of means to discharge the foreign as well as the Domestic debts of the United States, and how far the success of our endeavours to survey as much as possible of the western Territory, will contribute towards supporting the most important Interests of the federal Government. — I have the honour to be with sentiments of Esteem and respect

Gentlemen

Camp near the Ohio 5 Miles your most obedient
below little beaver Rivulet and most hble servant
October 1st. 1786. Tho: Hutchins

To the Gentlemen surveyors in the Western Territory.

The answer I received in consequence of the above Letter is contained in the enclosed paper N^o 3. —

I beg leave to observe it has uniformly been my opinion if no further unfavourable accounts arrived than those already submitted to the consideration of the Gentlemen surveyors, that the seventh Range might be surveyed under Cover of the Troops with as much safety as the fourth Range. I therefore desired M^r Morris to propose it to the surveyors when they were determining on the steps to be taken relative to their returning to their duty; which he accordingly did, and which they unanimously refused complying with. Upon which I advised the Gentlemen who were to complete the second, third, and fourth Ranges, to provide themselves with hands, horses and provisions as soon as possible, which they are now doing, and this morning Captain Martin set out under Cover of a Subaltern and twenty

Men to finish the second Range.—This afternoon Colonel Sherman arrived and expressed his willingness to finish his Range, and the day following, the 2nd of October, he set out to engage hands &c for the purpose.

October the 3rd. This afternoon Colonel Sproat arrived after having proceeded, so far on the fourth Range as to complete four Townships, when being out of Provisions, and receiving information that the Indians had killed some people East of the Ohio near to Weeling, he thought it prudent to retire. that on the 19th of September he sent a soldier with a horse from the line where he was surveying to his camp—distant about a Mile and a half.—that neither the Soldier nor the horse have been heard of since. Colonel Sproat further adds, that from the tracks lately discovered by his hunter, he has reason to apprehend their having been taken off by some Indians.—Lieut. Petre, who accompanied Colonel Sproat, also lost a valuable horse, which he thinks was taken off by Indians, as their tracks were followed a number of Miles Westward by two hunters he had employed to find his horse.—Colonel Sproat further said that on his arrival at Mingo bottom the first of October he was told that a few days before, two Indians had taken a Negro Man Prisoner near that settlement, and on hearing some Bells one of the Indians went off with an intention as the Negro supposed, to steal horses. that though the Negroes Arms were pinioned, yet he found means to obtain so much liberty with them as enabled him to kill the Indian who was left to guard him—after which he went to one Shepherds, being the nearest settler to him, and reported what he had done; upon which a small par-

ty marched to the place and found what the Negro had said to be true.— Coll. Sproat having corroborated the opinion of some of the surveyors, that the best rout to return to their respective Ranges, and the easiest way for the Troops to March, was by the Mingo Bottom. Major Hamtramck in consequence purposed setting out for that place immediately on the arrival of Lieut. Bissels party who were hourly expected. The 4th of October Colonel Sproat proceeded for the Mingo Bottom, to engage hands purchase provisions &c.— The 5th it rained all day and great part of the Night, as it had almost constantly done these five days past.— At 3 o'clock P.M. Lieut. Bissel returned, and brought with him a Soldier of Major Sergeant's party who had lost himself, and had been nine days mostly without provisions. Lieut. Bissel reported that he had discovered the tracks of a Horse and also of two Indians, supposed to be those who had taken Colonel Sproats horse and the Soldiers who is still missing. The Troops were detained in Camp by wet weather untill the 7th of October, when about 12 o'clock they crossed the Ohio on their way to the Mingo bottom.— The 8th in the morning I set out and arrived at the same place in the afternoon. The 9th at 10, o'clock A.M. the troops arrived and continued their March to Buffaloe Rivulet²² distant about four Miles below Mingo bottom, at which place the surveyors were desired to attend to receive the detachments destined to guard them respectively.— Here Major Sergeant signified he was ready and Willing to survey the fifth Range: he was immediately furnished with a guard for the purpose: and notwithstanding the unfavourable accounts repeat-

²² Wellsburg, W. Va.

edly received, I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency that I have the prospect of completing five Ranges this season. — Having supplied the surveyors with the necessary guards, it was thought advisable to proceed with the remainder of the troops and take such a position as to be able to afford the speediest relief in case of necessity; for which purpose the troops Marched, and on the 11th reached Cox's Fort, and on the same day recrossed the Ohio on their way to take a central position some where between the surveyors and the south limits of their respective Ranges. — The 12th continued in Camp to make some necessary arrangements previous to Marching in the Woods. — Thus much for the operations of the Geographers Department to this Day. — As occurrences happen in future I promise myself the honour of communicating them by every favourable opportunity. Be pleased to permit me to conclude this Journal of Facts by observing that the many difficulties I have been obliged to encounter in the course of my duty, have been greatly alleviated by the cheerful and ready assistance afforded me on every occasion by Major Hamtramck.

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of Esteem and Respect

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble Servant

Camp at the junction of
Weeling Rivulet and the
Ohio 12th October 1786—

Tho: Hutchins

[Indorsed:] Letter 12 Oct. 1786

Thomas Hutchins

Read Nov^r 1786

XL

INDIAN CHIEFTAINS TO GENERAL BUTLER (1786)⁹⁴

Sandusky 28th October 1786—

We, Chiefs of different Nations, Especially the Wyandotts, did inform you by your people who went by here some time ago with Cattle it being quiet and peaceable with us at that time. But since that time there has been some of your people at the Shawanoes Villages and destroyed them, and likewise killed ten of the Shawanoes and five of them was the principle Chiefs, and took a number of Prisoners, Women and Children.⁹⁵

We, Chiefs of different Nations was then at that time gathering together from every quarter in order to have a Council, concerning of settling affairs in the best manner and the peaceablest between you and Us both.

We, now acquaint you (since this affair has happen'd) that you by all means keep back your people from coming this Way, for, or after, any sort of business, and likewise you will inform the Surveyors to halt and not to survey any more at present, as we are going to have a great Council with all Nations at the Wyandott Town—After our Council is over we will give notice concerning our late misfortune and other affairs.

Signed

Abraham Coon
Morrayet Haire
Wyandott Chiefs

To Rich^d. Butler Gen^l Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

⁹⁴ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 289.

⁹⁵ Gen. George Rogers Clark's campaign in the fall of 1786; Col.

XLI

INDIAN CHIEFTAINS TO GENERAL BUTLER (1786)⁹⁰

The answer of the Wyandotts and Delawares to the Speech sent to them by General Richard Butler Esquire Superintendent of Indian Affairs &c delivered to them by James Rankin 23rd September 1786—

Brothers of the Thirteen fires, We have heard what you said to us the other day. The peace we made at Beaver Creek [Fort McIntosh] we will always hold that Belt of Friendship fast and wish you to do the same, and what you said about dividing the Land we likewise stand to it, but its best not to let it be divided yet.—There is something behind me I don't like, and something from your side does not look good, if we force this work of the Land now it may do mischief, its best let the Land alone till every thing is right.

Brothers were we Wyandotts and Delawares, to shew ourselves at the surveying of the Land we are very sure the other Nations of Indians towards the Sun Setting would whip us very sorely, for they are very angry and says we are just like the Americans.

Brothers when we were at home we seen a black Cloud come from the Sun setting. We Wyandotts and Delawares pushed it back and it is still there. But now we see one rising behind you; you must look to it and push it away and make things clear.—Brothers, what We Wyandotts and Delawares say to you, you may be sure is right, and what News we

Logan destroyed a number of Indian villages in Ohio in retaliation for constant raids directed against the Kentucky pioneers.

⁹⁰ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 285.

hear we will always let you know; and we thank you for appointing General Butler to take care of us; and that he will let us know what News you have. — Brothers, We hear that Capt. Brant and some of the Six Nations are gone by to the Shawanoes, and to the other Nations, and we are sent for; and we believe you will be sent for that We may all hear what they have to say. Brothers the Delaware Captain Buckingechilas is come home from the Chickasaws Country and we are called on to go to his Town, to hear the News he has brought with him.

[Indorsed:] Copy

Half King of the
Wyandotts & Capt.
Pipes answer.

XLII

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1786)⁹⁷

Sir

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that notwithstanding the many unfavourable reports and disagreeable consequences which have very materially contributed to retard the surveyors in their operations four Ranges are completely finished, and forty two Miles of the west side of the fifth Range Run. — The first and second Ranges were surveyed into Townships by Captain Martin, and the third and fourth by General Tupper, Colonel Sproat, Colonel Sherman and M^r Simpson. The above mentioned forty two Miles of the west bounds of the fifth Range

⁹⁷ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 281.

was Run by Major Sergeant.—I was exceedingly anxious to have the fifth, sixth and seventh Ranges completed in the course of this Winter; but it was the opinion of the surveyors that the severity of the weather would greatly retard their progress, as well as render the surveying business very expensive and disagreeable, they have therefore thought it most adviseable to retire from the business untill such time as it shall be found practicable to survey early in the spring, when they will attempt finishing the above mentioned Ranges. I shall be detained here untill such time as the Townships already surveyed are delineated on paper, which will probably take till the commencement of the ensuing year, when I shall lose no Time in proceeding with them to New York.—The latest and principal Intelligence received here since I wrote to your Excellency by Major Doughty the 12th of November last is contained in the enclosed papers N^o 1 and 2.^{ss}—For further particulars permit me to refer you to Colonel Sproat who is the bearer of these few Lines.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Ohio County State of	most obedient and
Virginia 2 nd Decem ^r 1786	most humble servant
	Tho: Hutchins

His Excellency the President of Congress

[Indorsed:] Letter Dec^r 2. 1786

Thomas Hutchins
progress made in survey
speech of Indian chiefs
& answers
Read Feb^r 3^d 1787 —

^{ss} Docs. xl, xli.

XLIII

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1787)⁹⁹

Sir

I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I left the western Territory the 1st Instant and arrived here last Evening.

I have brought with me the Plats and descriptions of four Ranges completely surveyed into Townships containing in the whole Six hundred and seventy five thousand four hundred and eighty Acres.

I have the honour to be with every
sentiment of esteem and respect

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble Servant

New York

Tho: Hutchins

22nd Feb^y 1787

His Excellency the President of Congress

[Indorsed:] Letter Tho^s Hutchins

22 Feb^y 1787

Read 26

that he has arrived with
plats of the Country which
is surveyed—

⁹⁹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 293.

XLIV

ACCOUNTS WITH SURVEYORS OF SEVEN RANGES
(1785-1786)¹⁰⁰

Dr The Surveyors of the Western Territory to the
Geographer of the United States.

	Dollars.	90 ^{ths}	Balances due
Adam Hoops	Dr		
1785 & 1786, To Cash per Receipts	Dollars	324	30
By Surveying 12 Miles of the			
2 ^d Range @ 2 dollars per Mile		24	300.30
William W. Morris	Dr		
1785 & 1786, To Cash, per Receipts		627.	4
By your expenditures in 1785, Dollars	303.12		
By surveying 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ Miles in the 7 th			
Range	15.45		
		318.57	308.37
Benjamin Tupper,	Dr		
1785 & 1786, To Cash per receipts		751.72	
By your expenditures in 1785,	189.27		
By Surveying 63 Miles, 2 chains,			
and 37 Links of the 3 ^d Range,	126. 5		
By Surveying $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile of the			
8 th Range	1.45	316.77	434.85
Robert Johnston,	Dr		
1786, To Balance due per your Receipts,			166.14
James Simpson,	Dr		
1785 & 1786, To Cash, per receipts,		575. 0	
By your expenditures in 1785,	250.75		

¹⁰⁰ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 309.

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By Surveying 30 Miles of the 6th Range,	Dr	60. 0	310.75	264.15
				<u>1</u>
Amount carried forward.....		Dollars....	1474.90	Balances due
Amount brought forward,		Dollars	1474.1	
		Dollars	90 ^{ths}	
Winthrop Sargent,	Dr			
1786 To Cash, per Receipts			250.60	
By Surveying 60 Miles of the 5th Range,			120. 0	
			<u>130.60</u>	
Ebenezer Sproat	Dr			
1786, To Balance due per your Receipts			398.60	
Isaac Sherman	Dr			
1787, To Balance due per your Receipts,			353. 0	
Edward Dowse,	Dr			
1785, To Cash per receipts			394. 0	
By your expenditures in 1785,			87. 0	307. 0
Samuel Montgomery	Dr			
1786, to Cash per Receipt,			70. 0	
Charles Smith	Dr			
1786, To Cash advanced,			66.12	
			<u>43</u>	
		Dollars...	2799	<u>90</u>

New York 10th March 1787. Tho: Hutchins

[Indorsed:] Captain Hutchins's
Account of Monies paid
or advanced to Surveyors,
and of Balances due by
them.

XLV

AUDIT OF SURVEYORS' ACCOUNTS (1787)¹⁰¹

Office of Accounts New York 4th May 1787.

Sir,

I have examined the Account of Thomas Hutchins Esquire Geographer to the United States and find:

That per the Register's Certificate herewith, he stands charged on the Treasury Books of the United States with the sum of Nine thousand seven hundred and forty one dollars, Dollars 9741. 0

That he charges for his salary as Geographer from the 27th day of May 1785 to the 31st day of March 1787 inclusive, which is equal to a period of 674 days @ 6 dollars per day amounts to the sum of dollars,

Dollars 4044. 0

Ditto for this sum paid the following Surveyors viz Benjamin Tupper, William W. Morris, Alexander Parker, James Simpson, Robert Johnston, Isaac Sherman, Absalom Martin, and Edward Dowse, for their expences incurred in 1785, agreeably to a Resolution of Congress of the 26th day of September 1786 to the amount of 1673.62

Ditto for this ditto paid Ebenezer Sproat, James Simpson, Isaac Sherman, and Absalom Martin, for surveying 430 Miles, 55 Chains of the 1st 2^d 3^d and 4th Ranges @ 2 dollars per mile 861.31

Ditto for this ditto paid Adam Hoops, William W. Morris, Benjamin Tupper,

¹⁰¹ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 313.

James Simpson, and Winthrop Sargent for
surveying 173½ Miles, 2 Chains, and 37
links of the 2^d 3^d 5th 6th 7th and 8th Ranges @
2 dollars per mile 347. 5

Amount brought forward... Dollars 6926. 8

Amount carried forward Dollars... 6926. 8

That he also charges sundry Contingent
expences necessarily incurred in the Geog-
rapher's Department as follows Viz

This sum paid W. Wilson in full
for his services and expences in-
curred in carrying a Message to
the chiefs of the Delaware and
Wyandott Nations the sum of 94.85

This ditto paid Robert Johnston,
his expences going to, and return-
ing from Philadelphia for public
Monies for the use of the Geog-
rapher's Department 115.46

This ditto paid Jacob Springer
for his services and expences in-
curred in Carrying a Message to
the Shawanoes, Delawares, and
Wyandott's Nations,..... 214.30

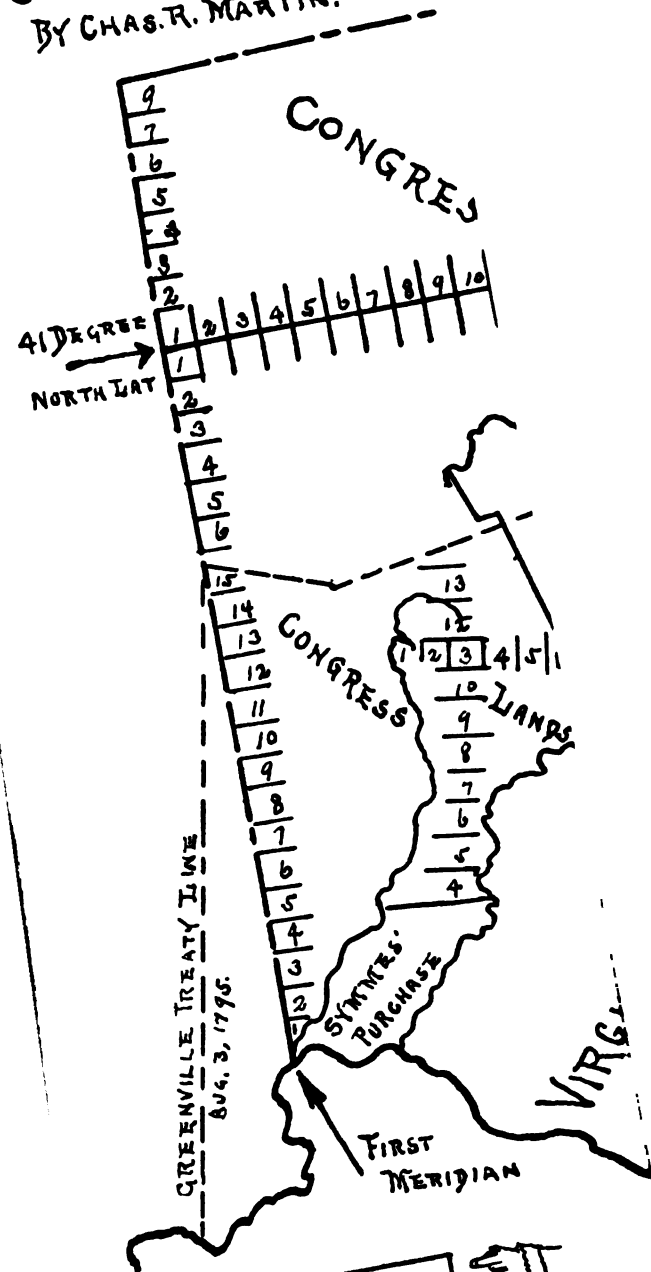
This ditto paid Samuel Sample
for a Canoe for the use of the said
Department, 10. 0

This ditto paid Daniel Britt for
a tin case for the purpose of put-
ting Surveys and their descrip-
tions in 1. 0

435.71

Dollars... 7361.79

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BY CHAS. R. MARTIN.



2	1
3	4

DIVISION OF
TOWNSHIPS IN
U.S. MIL. DIST.

Leaving a Balance of Two thousand,
three hundred, and seventy Nine dol-
lars, and Eleven Ninetieths of a dollar
due from Thomas Hutchins Dollars.. 2379.11
Dollars.. 9741. 0

Note, M^r Hutchins charges in his account the sum
of 2799⁴/₁₀₀ths dollars, being the balances due to him
on Monies advanced to sundry Surveyors see his
account herewith marked A, and for which he hath
produced their Notes and receipts the aforesaid sum
of 2799 ths dollars, cannot be passed to the credit of
M^r Hutchins, as the respective persons who signed
the Notes and Receipts in his favour are only ac-
countable to Him.

William Tinney
clerk of accounts.

To John D. Mercier Esq^r
Auditor

[Indorsed:] N^o 5442.
State of the Account
of
Thomas Hutchins Esq^r
Geographer.

To be Entered as within
Stated— J.M.
Entered accordingly y^e 13th
July 1787, in Blotter pa 2532.
J:N:

XLVI

HUTCHINS TO CONGRESS (1787)¹⁰²

Sir

Permit me to inform your Excellency that in my attempts to execute surveys in the Western Territory in the Years 1785, 86, and 87, it became absolutely necessary to advance to the respective surveyors certain sums of Money to purchase provisions, pay Chain carriers &c to enable them to execute surveys agreeably to an Ordinance of Congress of the 20th of May 1785.—I have already said this advance was absolutely necessary, as without it, not an Acre of Land would have been surveyed by them.—Your Excellency will be pleased further to observe, that from the enclosed Copy of a Receipt, the surveyors oblige themselves to refund the Money advanced them, in case it should not be appropriated agreeably to the intentions of Congress.—permit me to declare in justice to the Gentlemen Surveyors, that I verily believe, the Monies they received from me, were by them expended, in attempting to make, and in executing of, surveys in the Western Territory.—And as it appears by M^r William Tinney, Clerk of Accounts remark at the bottom of the statement of my General Account which is herewith also enclosed, with the Auditors Report, that I have charged in my Account 2799⁴⁸/₁₀₀ths Dollars being the balances due to me advanced to sundry surveyors appointed by Congress. See the Account herewith marked A and for which I have produced their Notes and receipts, the aforesaid Sum of 2799⁴⁸/₁₀₀ths Dollars, cannot be passed to the Credit of my Account, as the

¹⁰² From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 60, 305.

respective Persons who have signed the Notes and Receipts in my favour are only accountable to me. — I am now to observe that upwards of 9000 Dollars were put into my Hands by the Treasury in the Years 1785 and 86. — I humbly presume so large a sum was not Solely intended only for the discharge of my Salary as it would have been sufficient for that purpose for many Years to come: but I rather conceive it was intended for the payment of the surveyors in, and the Contingencies relative to, the Geographers Department. — That I have appropriated it to those purposes is evident from the Vouchers I have produced. — I therefore hope and expect Congress will think it just and reasonable to pass a Resolve directing that the Sum of 2799⁴²/₁₀₀ths Dollars be carried to the Credit of my General Account. — Or that they will be pleased to signify that the above sum has not been disposed of agreeably to the intentions of that Honorable Body, that I may have it in my power to compel the Surveyors by legal prosecution, in case of their refusing to return the Money without it.

I have the Honour to be

With the greatest respect & Esteem
your Excellency's

most obedient

New York 9th

and most hble Servant

May 1787

Tho: Hutchins

[Indorsed:]

Letter May 9th 1787

Thomas Hutchins

respecting a sum of Money
advanced to the Surveyors

Read May 9th 1787
Referred to the Board
of Treasury to report —
Acc^t Monies advanced to Surveyors
Marked A — sent to board of treasury
Octo. 16th 1787
returned Oct. 22

XLVII

BENJAMIN TUPPER TO CONGRESS (1787)¹⁰⁸

To the Honorable the Congress of the United States of America.

The Memorial of Benjamin Tupper Surveyor (on the part of Massachusetts) of the western territory, respectfully sheweth.

That your Memorialist has made several attempts in the last and present year to execute the Ordinance of Congress of May 20th 1785.

That from experience he finds the two dollars per Mile is by no means adequate to the unavoidable expences attending the same, as will clearly appear by the accounts of the gentlemen who made the surveys the present year; and as the expences will increase with the distance your Memorialist may be from any supplies, it is impossible for him to proceed on the business, without inevitable ruin to himself. He therefore humbly requests that Congress will be pleased to order a reimbursement of the present years expences, and make such other compensa-

¹⁰⁸ From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, x, 263.

tion as your Honorable body may think reasonable for the time expended in your service.

You[r] Memorialist is emboldened to ask this from the confidence that Congress cannot permit their servants to suffer in their own fortunes, while exerting themselves in promoting the public interest, and a consciousness that they have used their utmost endeavors to effect the surveys in the western country upon the most extensive scale.

Your Memorialist having been under the necessity of applying to the Geographer of the United States for considerable sums of money to defray his unavoidable extra expences, he prays that your honorable body would enable him to discharge the same.

Your Memorialist as in duty bound shall ever pray.—

Benj^a Tupper.

Ohio

Nov^r 10th 1786

[Indorsed:] N^o 27

Mem^t B. Tupper

Read 20 March 1787

Referred to the

Board of Treasury to

report.—

see. Journal Oct^r 3^d 1787

[P.S.]¹⁰⁴ An Account of my Expenditures while endeavouring to Execute Surveys in the Western Territory of the United States agreeable to the Ordinance of Congress of the 20th of May 1785.—

To Sundry disbursements on my Journey to Pitts-

¹⁰⁴ From the *Papers of Continental Congress*, no. 41, iv, 307.

burgh the place of rendezvous appointed by the
Geographer to the United States Viz.—

Dol^r

To my Expences from the 12 th of July to the 15 th of August at 1 Dollar and $\frac{20}{100}$ p ^r Day	49 $\frac{20}{100}$
To Boarding while at Pittsburgh 35 Days	47 $\frac{44}{100}$
To the hire of one horse from the 6 th Day of August to the first of October and three horses from that time to the 18 th of October at $\frac{15}{100}$ of a Dollar p ^r Day	23 $\frac{25}{100}$
To the Wages of 5 Men 17 Days	25 $\frac{25}{100}$
To flour and other necessaries purchased for the Support of myself and five men while Encamped at the mouth of Little Beaver Creek 31 Days	36 $\frac{41}{100}$
The amount in Dollars	177 $\frac{57}{100}$
To other expenditures while adjusting our ac- counts when returned to Pittsburgh from our encampment at the mouth of Little Beaver Creek	11 $\frac{28}{100}$
A true account errors excepted	189 $\frac{20}{100}$
Benj Tupper	

[Indorsed:]

Benjamin Tupper
acco^t for 189
Dollars $87\frac{20}{100}$ ths

PART THREE

A JOURNAL &C [OF JOHN MATTHEWS, 1786]¹⁰⁵

Monday July 10th 1786. Left home this morning intending to visit the Ohio River found Cap^t Mills at Maj. Cushing in Brookfield, from there proceeded on the Journey in company with him Crossed Conecticut River at Springfield put up for the night at Maldens in West Springfield.

Tuesday, July 11th. Continued our Journey this morning from Malden took the road through Granvel Little Malborough &c. to New Windsor put up at night in Sanderfield at Lucuses.

Wednesday July 12th Proceeded on our Journey this day as far as Chamberlaines in the Edge of York State.

¹⁰⁵ The importance of this minute journal of the young Yankee surveyor-school teacher, John Matthews, in primeval Ohio cannot be over-estimated. It was the most careful report as to soil and climate of the region of the proposed Ohio Company purchase that came back to New England. Perhaps no influence was exerted of equal magnitude in securing shareholders in the Ohio Company. A number of omissions are made, indicated by stars, as the records of many days are monotonously alike. It must be remembered, however, that it was this very monotony in the description of uniformly valuable land that gave the journal its power. Its greatest merit is in the simplicity and sanity of its record; this gave it credence and an influence beyond that of studied efforts of other writers to arouse an artificial enthusiasm. For data concerning John Matthews and persons mentioned in the record, see the index in vol. ii of this series.

Thursday 13th Continued our Journey this day and arrived in the evening at Fishkiln Landing too late to cross the Ferry.

Fryday 14th Cross'd the North River to New Windsor this morning Made inquiry for Mr. Ansel Tupper and some other gentlemen who was to meet us their found they were not arrivd from ther went to Newburgh & put [up] at M^r De Groves and waited for them.

Saturday 15th Waited for M^r Tupper untill 9 o'clock this morning they not arriving we thought best to procede on our way put up at night at Cannidas in Florida.

Sunday 16th Proceeed on our way this day and put up for the night at the Widow Sniders 6 miles from Sussex.

Monday 17th Still continued on our Journey put up at night at Whites in Greenwich 10 miles from Eastown [Easton].

Tuesday 18th Proceeed to the Delaware this morning crossed the Ferry and Breakfasted in Eastown (on this road from New Burgh to Eastown the land in general is of an ordinary Quality the soil light and something stony (except on runs &c) but produces very good wheat) after Breakfast left Eastown stoped at Bethlem [Bethlehem] 12 miles from Eastown and refreshed our horses &c. Bethlem is a small town very handsome built of stone and pleasantly situated on a large run of water is inhabited by a Society of Moravians road from Bethlem to Allentown this afternoon and put up for the night.

Wednesday 19th Left Allentown this morning Break-

fasted at Swairses 8 miles from Allentown. Dined at Maj. Baldes put up for the night on the E bank of the Schoolkill River 5 miles from Reding [Reading].

Thursday 20th Ford the Schoolkill this morning the water being about 3½ feet deep Breakfasted in Reding &c put up for the night in Lebanon.

Fryday 21st Rode 10 miles this morning and put up tel the next day to refresh our horses.

Saturday 22nd Continued our Journey this morning took Breakfast at Lincolns in Hummelstown abot noon crossed the Susquehannah at Harreses Ferry [Harrisburg] (the Susquehannah here is about one mile wide the water shole not exceeding 4 feet in the deepest the country through which we came betwene the Delaware and the Susquehannah Rivers is in general Rich and level producing excellent wheat and other grains and watered by large spring which forms fine runs of water bordered with very good medows) put up this night in Carlile.

Sunday 23^d Left Carlile this morning and continued our Journey Dined at Shipingsburgh 21 miles from Carlile. from Shipingsburg we turn'd to the right out of the waggon road to Pittsburgh in order to cross the north mountains put up at night at Clearks at the foot of the mountains.¹⁰⁶

Monday 24th Left Cleark about 6 this morning got across the mountains into the main road by 11 being about 9 miles (the road across the mountains

¹⁰⁶ Matthews was following the road taken two years later by the Ohio Company pioneers. It was at this point (Clark's) that they were compelled to abandon their wagons. Cf. vol. i.

is very bad but by coming this way we save 19 miles in the distance from Shipingsburg to Littleton) refreshed our horses at Burds in Littleton put up for the night at McDonnells at the foot of Sidling Hill.

Tuesday 25th Crossed Sidling hill this morning Breakfasted at Col. Martains at the crossing of the Juinatta River from this we made no Stop till we arrivd at Bedford where we put up for the night. From Cleark at the foot of the mountains to Bedford the country is Mountainous rocky and barren except Lands bordering on the runs and betwene the mountains.

Wednesday 26th Proceeded on our way from Bedford refreshed our horses at the foot of Allegany Mountain Crossed the Mountains this afternoon found the Mountains not so bad to cross as several other hills which we have crossed. Put up for the night at Black's at Stony Creek, in Comeing this way we left the Pennsylvania road on the right and came what is cal'd the Glade road.

Thursday 27th Proceeded on our way this morning took Breakfast and refreshed our horses at Beans at the side of Lawrel Hill proceded on our way over Lawrel Hill found the road mirey and rock but no where very steep put up for the night at Cap^t Williamses in Leganear [Ligonier] Vally.

Fryday 28th Left Williamses this morning crossed chesnut ridge Put up for the night 24 [miles] from Pittsburgh.

Saturday 29th Arriv'd at Pittsburgh about 3 o'clock P. M. found the Surveyor had gown down the Ohio to Little Beve [Beaver] creek receiv'd directions

STAGES FROM N. WINDSOR TO PITTSBURG

PLACES NAME	INKEEPERS	DIST.	PLACES NAME	INKEEPERS	DIST.
Florida	Cannadas	22	Shipingsburg		21
.....	Hogless	14	The Gap	Clearks	10
.....	Snider	6	Foot Sliding Hill.....	McDonnells	7
Sussex	Willet	6	Crossing of the		
Hope Moravian		16	Juniatta	Martains	10
Grenwich	Whites	12	Bedford	McGoughy	14
Eastown	Stannon	10	Foot of the Allegany		19
Bethlehem		12	Stony Creek.....	Blacks	10
Allenstown	Dishlers	6	Foot of Law Hill.....		12
Great Spring.....	Swyers	8	Liganier Valley.....	Williames	13½
.....	Baldes	14		Myers	34
Reding		14½	Pittsburgh	Dinkins	12
Middletown	Seltzer	14			—
Lebanon	Grenaway	14			175½ From Carlile to Pittsburg.
Ballem	Ballem	10			397 From N. Windsor to Pittsburgh.
Hummelstown	Lincoln	7			
Harrestown	Hunter	9			
Carlile		17			
		—			
		211½	From N. Windsor to Carlile		

from Gen'l Tupper by Col. Shairman¹⁰⁷ to go down the river Col Shairman being to set out emedately for Bevaer Creek we cross the Monongahela river and road about a mile and ½ and put up for the night.

Sunday 30th Proceeded down S. E. side of the Ohio river for Bever Creek put up at within 4 miles of Camp.

Monday 31st Arrived at Camp on the E. bank of the Ohio this morning where the Surveyors ware waiting for the Troops from Mingo who are to escort them on there Survey. Thinking it not safe to go on without.¹⁰⁸

.

Tuesday [August] 15th Foggy morning 9 A. M. fog cleared away and a fine day follow'd cross'd the river this day with Cap^t Hoope¹⁰⁹ to begin the 2d raing of Townships Camp'd 5 miles from the River on the E. and W. line on coming on line I found the land hilly and uneven except near the Ohio and of an excelent Quality many of the side hill moist fit for grazing and the tops of the ridges level and excelent for wheat.

Wednesday 16th Cloudy morning 9 A. M.—Decamped 11 arrivd at the end of the 1st raing the land uneven but good for wheat rye Indian corn flax hemp &c. the groth white red and black oak; hickory &c. likewise innumerable specias of weads which make excelent food for horses run this day on the E. and W. line 48 chain the land in general

¹⁰⁷ See note 77.

¹⁰⁸ See doc. xxxiv.

¹⁰⁹ Mentioned in doc. xxxviii.

good for wheat rye flax &c. except the tops of some rid[g]es which is dry but good wheat land. Cloudy the remainder of the Day.

Thursday 17th Cloudy til 10 in the morning then cleared and warm continued our line this morning to the 1st mile then returned to camp to breakfast the Remainder of this mile is much of the same Quality the former but rather more level and if any difference in point of soil better after Breakfast continued the line. at 24 rod crossed a small brook on the sides of which some very good mowing mite be made quit at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the 1st mile post from the last mentioned brook is a gentle rising and the land excelent for wheat.

Friday 18th—Cloudy morning half past 7 began where we left off last night the first 20 chains through rich land gently rising on each side and a small run of water betwene the rising ground the timber all kind of oak hickory rock and white maple ash and &c. the next 50 rod crosses a ridg with rising ground on the South the ridge where we cross'd and the rising ground to the South is dry and in some places Stony tho very good wheat land 30 rod further crosses the head of a vally which runs to the S. W. the ridges running differente directions widens as it extends to the S. W. and appears to be an excelent cut of land 20 chain further concludes the 2^d mile the last 20 chains is a gentle Desent to the N. W. and most excelent wheat land the line passes a little to the Northward of the ridge and the land on the South Side is of an equal quality with the other. the 1st 20 chains; in the 3^d mile: crosses poor points of

ridges, and up a rocky side hill 20 rod further quit for the day about 2 P. M. broke away and weather pleasant the remainder of the day.

Saturday 19th A fine pleasant morning wind in N. W. half past 7, A. M. began to survey the 2^d 20 chains of the 3^d mile through rich level land the timber all kinds of Oak hickory Dogwood &c 3^d 20 chains good wheat land and Desending to the N. W. and rising ground on the Southward which is light-soil'd and stony the last 20 chains ridgy and lite soil'd except a bottom 8 rod wide with a brook running through it and will make very good mowing the 1st 20 chains of the 4th mile a little descending to N. E. and very rich the timber all kinds oak and hickory growing very tall and will produce all kinds of grain likewise clover and all other kinds of upland grass in the greatest abundance the 2^d 20 chains poor and stony the 3^d 20 chains level and good wheat land.

Sunday 20th Clear and warm the whole Day.

Monday 21st A Beautiful Morning and a prospect of a fine day for Business half past 7 A. M. began our work the last 80 rod of the 4th mile much of the same Quality with the Preceding the 1st part of the first 20 chains of the 4th mile crosses a very good bottom for meddow then rises a hill the fase of which is stony then on to level good land the 2^d 20 chains very rich land a little ascending to the W. and fit for Indian Corn hemp &c. and will make good upland mowing 3^d 20 chains gentle inequalities and very little inferior to the last the last 20 chains of the 5th mile not so good as the rest be-

ing on a ridg where the soil is lite but midling good for wheat 40 rod from the 5 mile quit for the day the whole day fair and warm.

Thursday 22^d Haizy morning 7 A. M. began work the 1st 20 chains desends to the W. timber white oak and hickory the soil lite excep the last part at the foot of the ridge the 1st part of the 2^d 20 chains across a good bottom for mowing the other part cross a ridg lite soil'd on the top but good wheat land the 3^d 20 chains rich and level the last part good mowing the last 20 chains runs obliquely along a side hill which is moist and rich to the top then along the top of the ridge which is lite soild but good for wheat the mile conclude just at the bottom of the ridge which conclude the 2^d raing where we quit for the day The middle and latter part of the day clar and warm.

Wednesday 23^d Clear and cool morning half past 7 A. M. began where we left off last night the 1st 20 chains desend to the S. except the last part which crosses a good bottom for mowing 2^d 20 chains uneven and litish soild but midling good for wheat 3^d 20 chains good wheat land the last 20 chains of the 1st mile on the S. line ridgy and dry except the valleys betwene the ridges at 10 outs from the 1st mile quit for the day in the evening had a heavy thunder shower.

.
Friday Sep^r 1st 1786 Clear weather the whole day Maj^r Hoops having been for some time in a bad state of health and growing more unwell Conclud-
ed this morning to leave the line and return to

Camp at Little Bever accordingly decamp'd at 9 A. M. and got as far as the 5th mile post on the N. boundary of the 2 raing.

Saturday Sept. 2^d Clear the whole day Arrived at Little Bever at 3 o'clock P. M. Found the surveyors had all left camp except Gen'l Tupper, Cap^t Morris¹¹⁰ and M^r Duffey.

Sunday 3^d Clear and warm the whole day.

Monday 4th Clear and warm.

Tuesday 5th Stormy and southwardly winds

Wednesday 6th Fair weather, made arraingments to go on with Gen'l Tupper to begin the Eighth raing of Townships.

Thursday 7th Clear and warm Crossed the River with our Baggage and about 2 o'clock P. M. got our horses loaded and started for the woods Camped at night 4 miles from Bever Creek.

Friday 8th Clear and warm 7 o'clock A. M. decamped and about 6 P. M. Camped 4 miles on the 3^d Raing

Saturday 9th Clear the greatest part of the day This morning we was detained untill 10 o'clock a looking for one of our Horses but not finding him we loaded our Baggage on the other Horses and proceded on our way Camped at the end of the fourth Raing.

Sunday 10th 7 o'clock A. M. decamped 4 o'clock in the afternoon camped near the end of the 6th Raing Maj^r Sergents¹¹¹ he came to our camp and in-

¹¹⁰ See note 77.

¹¹¹ Winthrop Sargent, later secretary of the Ohio Company and secretary of the territory under General St. Clair. Major Sargent's activity in this work of surveying and exploring comes out vividly in this journal.

form'd that one of his hands had left him which very much embarresed him. Gen'l Tupper not being reddy to begin work (as the Geographer had not got through the 6th Raing) I went with Maj^r Sergents to assist him for a few days and Gen'l Tupper promised to send his sone¹¹² (who was gone on as far as the geographer camp) the next day on my way to this place after leaving the 2^d raing I found a great part of the 3^d Raing poor and uneven the Timber Pitch Pines and small oak the 4th Raing is very good wheat land in general. the 5th Raing is excelent for wheat Likewise several large Glades or swamps shaded with Willow Elder Alder wine Bark &c. which will make excelent Low Medow.

Monday 11th Clear and warm for the Season Got on as far as the Second mile post $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 2^d mile is through a large swamp coming from the S. E. and running Northwestwardly the soil deep and mirey in many places but when clear'd will make Excelent Low Medow M^r Anselm came to us about 10 o'clock and he and my self carry'd the chain.

Tuesday 12th Scattering clouds and a fresh breeze from the N. W. and cool run 2 miles this day the land through which the line past forms gentle equalities and is excelent wheat Land Timbered with White red and Black or Yellow Oak Hickory dog wood &c.

Wednesday 13th Clear and very cool morning for the Season I observd the frost had nip'd the

¹¹² Mr. Anselm Tupper.

weeds in many places Continued cool the whole day wind from the N. W. and Cool Showers run 2 miles this day which Concluded the West boundary of first Township 5th Raing The Land on these two miles much the same in point of Soil as the last mentioned but more level and is Excelent wheat Land

Thursday 14th Clear and Cool Morning the remainder of the day Pleasant and moderate 9 o'clock A. M. M^r Tupper and myself with a hunter left Maj^r Sergents Camp in order to fall in with Gen^l Tupper on the Geographers line who we found Encamped near the end of the 6th raing the rought we took from Maj^r Sergents Camp was thro the first Township of the Sixth raing the Land where we came through this Township is Considerable uneven and points of ridges stony Likewise large bodys of falen timber where the ridge is very Brushy but much good wheat Land and Several Small Brooks on which is very good medow Land.

Friday 15th Clear the whole day 10 o'clock A. M. decamped and moved to the westward about 5 miles where we joind the Geographers Camp on Sandy Creek a large branch of Tuskarawas The first 3 miles of the North boundary of the 7th raing is hilly and Brushy but the Soil capable of producing good wheat Then through a rich Bottom on a Small Brook which falls into Sandy Rivlet half a mile wide then through a large oppen Glade one mile and a half wide and accor[d]ing to accounts of the Hunter 7 or 8 miles long the greatest part of this Glade is dry land the Soil of the Mearly [marly?] kind and I think would produce good wheat

it is mostly cover with low brush and a kind of wild grass but very few trees the s[w]ampy or wet part of it is eithe[r] covered with Elder Alder wine bark or wild grass which grows very thrifty betwene the Glade and the Creek the Bottom is about 100 rods wide and excelent for meadow

Saturday 16th Cloudy Morning and remaind cloudy the greatest part of the day The North bounds of the 7th raing not being compleeted Gen'l Tupper could not enter upon business this day I spent part of the day in vewing the adjacent Country the Rivulet comes from the N. E. and runs to S. W. beautifully meandering through rich and extensive Bottoms the uplands are level and very fine

Sunday 17th Cloud and rain wind S. E. this morning I went to a camp of Indians who ware returning from F^t M^cIntosh to there towns they ware encamped 8 rods above us on the Creek they ware about Eighteen in number men and women they had rum with them and had a drunken frolic the night before but appeared decent and friendly

Monday 18th Foggy morning haf past 10 cleard away and continued fair the remainder of the day 10 o'clock Gen'l Tupper began his raing and our camp moved to west about 3 miles to another large Branch of the Tusarawas call'd Nineshilling After we had run $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile an express arrived from Maj^r Hamtramchs Camp at Little Bever and brought information that the Indians was assembling at the Shawanees Towns and Intended making a general attackt on the Surveyors.¹¹⁸ Cap^t Hutchins and Gen'l Tupper thought it unsafe to

¹¹⁸ Cf. doc. xxxix.

proceed any further Information was immediately sent to Cap^t Morris who had got about one mile and a half on the West boundary of the 7th raing and we all returned to the ground from we left this morning where we tarried this night

Tuesday 19th Clear and warm the whole day 9 o'clock A. M. decamped and marched for little Bever our whole party consisted of about 50 men about 36 of which was troops under the command Leut. Cersy Encamped at night near the 1st mile post on the 6th raing

Wednesday 20th Pleasant and warm 7 o'clock A. M. decamped and encamped again at night near the 1st mile post on the 4 raing

Thursday 21st Foggy morning about 8 A. M. Fog broke and warm 3 o'clock P. M. a Small Shower from W. after which we had a pleasant evening 9 o'clock A. M. decamped and marched to Eastward one o'clock we met Maj^r Hamtramck with the whole of his detachment on there way to meet us near the 3 mile post on the 3^d Raing where we encamped on an eminance near the line

Friday 22^d Clear and warm the whole Day in the Night we had a heavy Shower and Thunder from the west 3 o'clock P. M. decam[p]ed and marched about 3 miles to the East

Saturday 23^d Clear and warm the whole day 10 o'clock A. M. decamped and marched for the Ohio encamped in the evening on the Ohio 5 miles below Little Bever Creek where we are to wait until the Surveyor[s] return from their respective rainges.

Sunday 24th Fair weather the whole day M^r Simson returned from his raing which was the 6th

Monday 25th Cloudy and rained part of the day.

Tuesday 26th Cloudy the fore part of the day and clear the after part. The Surveyors not having returned and business in Suspense I left Camp in order to go down the river as far as Mr W^m Greathouses¹¹⁴ near the Mingo Bottom (with whom I had contracted an acquaintance in the woods and appears to be a reputable man) and then wait till I know what is to be done I put up at night at Mr Croxens about 18 miles below Bever when I met with very good entertainment

Wednesday 27th Clear and very warm arrived at Mr Greathouses about one o'clock P. M. he has a good farm and lives decently the Country through which I came is hilly except on the River and Creek bottoms but in general rich and Capable of producing Indian Corn hemp flax wheat rye Oats Berly &c. likewise large quantities of excellent good Mowing it is considerably Settled and tho the inhabitants do not yet live in affluence they have a great plenty of the immediate necessaries of life

Thursday 28th Warm and broken Clouds from the W.

Friday 29th Clear and warm

Saturday 30th Foggy morning half past 7 A. M. fog broke and the remainder of the day was clear and very warm

Sunday October 1st 1786 Clear and pleasant the whole day

Monday 2nd Clear morning clouded before noon and rained the most of the afternoon

Tuesday 3^d Cloudy and rainy the greater part of

¹¹⁴ Son of Harmon Greathouse, the pioneer family of wide repute living twenty-three miles below the mouth of Little Beaver Creek.

the day This day I had an offer of teaching a School the insueing winter and Considering the improbability of the Surveyors going to business again this year I thought best to accept of it

Wednesday 4th Cloudy and rainy wind N. westwardly

Thursday 5th Rained the whole day this day I went to Esq^r M^cMachans (which is about 6 mile below M^r Greathouses) and found that the Surveyors were principally collected there and ware determined to continue part of the Rainges and was to be Escorted by the whole of Maj^r Hamtramcks detachment. having an inclination to take another tour in the woods and a schoolhouse not being Redy I ingaged to go with Maj^r Sergents to the 5th Raing

Thursday 6th Shower the fore part of the day and cold squals and high winds from N. W. in the afternoon

Saturday 7th Scattering clouds and high winds from the S. W. and Cool

Sunday 8th Clear and cold in the morning I observed there was a little frost in some places which is the first that has been this year near the Ohio the day following faint Sun and high winds from the S. W.

Monday 9th. Cloudy morning about 10 o'clock the clouds Broke and Continued Clear and warm the Remainder of the day This afternoon I went to Esq^r M^cMachans in order to go into the woods with Maj. Sergeant when ever he is redy

Tuesday 10th Cloudy till 10 o'clock A. M. the Re-

mainder of the day Clear We made arraignment this day for proceeding to the 5th Raing

Wednesday 11th Foggy morning 9 o'clock fog broke and it remained clear and warm the rest of the Day 10 o'clock A. M. crossed the Ohio one mile below the old Mingo Town and took the route of Croffords [Crawford's] Trail which leves the River at the uper end of the Mingo Bottom En-camped at night about 2 miles from the Mingo Town our party Consisted of the Surveyor and his assistants and a Cap' and 25 men as Escort The Mingo Bottom Contains some thousands of Acres and is very fine Land Indian Cross-Creek runs through it after ascending the point of the Ridge from the Bottom the Land is exceedingly rich and forms gentle enequalities and most Beautiful Situations for Farms.

Thursday 12th Clear and warm morning and remained Fair wather the whole day Half past 7 A. M. decamped and proceded still by the route of Craffords Trail in nearly a N. W. direction 5 o'clock P. M. encamp'd having made as near as we cou'd judge about 6 miles westing This trail keeps the dividing ridge between Cross Creek and the Creeks that fall into the Ohio above the Mingo Bottom The land is uneven but the ridge nowhere steep and a greatest part of Soil is as rich as the River Bottom itself and Intirely free from Stone Cappable of producing Indian Corn hemp Flax tobacco and Clover in the greatest abounance The timber is large Black Walnut Butternut Shugar tree Ash hickory &c except the Tops of the ridges

which is covered with large Chesnut and Black Oak

Friday 13th Clear and warm morning and Little wind remained clear and warm untill about 5 o'clock P. M. when we had a moderate shower from the West 6 o'clock A. M. decamped and mov'd befor the troops as they ware not redy to start and Maj^r Serjents being impatient to get to business 10 A. M. we left the trail (it tending to much to the S. W.) and steared to the N. W. and come on the W. boundary of the third Raing one mile and three Quarters on the 3^d Township encamped at night at the S. E. corner of the 2 Township 4 Raing and found that the troops had got a head of us The Land for about one mile and a half from where we encamped last Night is very rich after which the soil is more light and the ridges very Brushy but good wheat land in general

Saturday 14th Cloudy Before Sunrise afterwards clear and warm and the wind Southwardly 12 o'clock Scattering clouds and fresh breaze from the South Maj^r Serjents Thermometer stood at 78° 7 o'clock A. M. decamped and proceded to the west on the South Boundary of the 2^d Township 4th Raing about 2 o'clock P. M. overtook the troops at the S. W. corner of the 2^d Township 4 raing The land on the South boundary of this Township is of an ordinary Quality and very Brushy. From the S. W. corner of the Second Township of the 4th Raing we steared a N. W. B. W. Course after traveling about 3½ miles we encamped from the corner to this place the Land is midling level thee soil light and covered with Brush but very good wheat

land Timber principally white oak and Chesnut
Sunday 15th Clear and warm the whole day at Sun-
down Ther 74° At Sunrise Maj^r Serjents and my
self with two other hands left the party in order to
strike the west Boundary of the 5th Raing 8 miles
South of the Geographers line at 10 o'clock A. M.
Struck the line 7½ miles South of it the Land
through which we came this morning is uneven
and the soil thin & in some places Stony timber
Chesnut White and Black Oak and larg proportion
of under Brush after Striking the line we followed
it South untill we came to the 2^d mile post on the
2^d Township where we began work run one mile
and quit for the day and returned to camp which
was pitched about 80 rods east of the line The
Land on this lite ordinary and very Brushy

.
Monday 30th Cloudy and rained the whole day lay
still in our camp about noon our pack-horsemen
returned from looking after their Horses and in-
formed that they ware not to be found and that the
Indians had stolen them (excep one poor hors)
which was evidents from several corroborating
circumstances

The Indians who stole our horses ware about 6 in
number They lay part of the night within about
80 rods of Camp and we suppose took our Horses
about 11 o'clock in the evening They likewise stole
a Buck Skin out of a Brook within one hundred
yards of Camp it was evident they had been lurk-
ing round us several days
on information of our Horses being stolen Cap^t
Heart emediately began building a Block Hous on

on the most advantageous ground in the vicinity of our camp

Tuesday 31st Therm. 38:44:38 Cloud and cold wind Northwesterly but no rain we dispatched a man this morning for Maj^r Hamtranch Camp on Indian weeling Rivulet informing of our situation and requesting more Horses so that we might proceed on our raing

Tho we ware apprehensive of danger we finished the west boundary of the 7th Township This day The 5 mile post stands in the Bottom mentioned the 29th near our encampment the bottom is larg and of the first-Quality The upland we run through the Soil is moist and stony fit for pasturing on our return to Camp we found the Block house in shuch order as to be a good shelter in case of an attack from the Indians

Wednesday Nov 1st Cloudy Morning from 9 o'clock A. M. till Night clear Sun Maj^r Serjent thinking it emprobable that their won'd be Horses sufficient to proced on with the Raing Sent out he was determined to run the South boundary of the 7th Township on our way in run two miles of it this day and returned to camp at the Block house at evening The line crosses the Branches of the Bottom on which we are encamped which are excellent The upland is very rich in places but not so generally good as the west boundary of this Township.

Thursday the 2^d Clear and Cold Morning froze considerable last night from 8 o'clock till night faint Sun terried in camp all day waiting return from Maj^r Hamtranch which did not arrive

Friday 3^d Cloud morning and very High wind from

the S. W. 10 o'clock Clouds Broke away and we had Clear Sun the remainder of the day the man who was sent to Maj^r Hamtramch Camp arrived with only three Horses which will not be sufficient to move our Baggage without going twice Maj^r Serjent proposes proceeding on with the South boundary of this Township on the morrow

Saturday 4th Clear and frosty morning The fore part of the day clear the after part faint sun and wind West Maj^r Serjents This morning concludes to leve the wood as soone as he has run the South Boundary of the 7th Township two mile and $\frac{1}{4}$ of which we run this day and returned to camp which had moved $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles on this line with much Trouble The land we run through this day is level and excelent wheat land principally Timbered with white Oak The water are the Branches of Mc-Machans Rivulet which emtys into the Ohio below Weeling [Wheeling].

Sunday 5th Cloud morning 9 o'clock Clouds Broke away and we had fine weather the remainder of the day finished the remainder of the South Boundary of the 7th Township we fell short of the west bounds of the 4th raing 2 chains and 90 link and came on the line 15 chain 10 links North of the S. W. corner of the 7th Township 4th raing The land still holds level and good for wheat the Soil rather light The Timber is chiefly white Oak our Camp Has moved on to the 4th raing where we expect to wait untill more horses come from Maj^r Hamtramch Camp to carry in our Baggage which we expect on the morrow

Monday 6th Clear and frosty morning and con-

tinued clear the whole Day wind S. W. This morning Maj^r Serjents concluded to load part of his Baggage on one Horse and proced to Maj^r Hamtramck Camp which according to the Best information we could get was in the S. E. part of the 3^d Township 3 raing 8 o'clock left Cap^t Hearts Camp Kept on the South Bounds of the 7th Township to the S. E. corner of it The land on this Line is uneven and of an ordinary Quality in general From the S. E. corner of this Township we traveled a N. Eastwardly Course and in about 4 miles struck a large rivulet which we supposed to be the main Branch of Indian Weelling and followed it down expecting to fall in with Camp night coming on and finding no Camp we suspected we ware on McMachans Rivulet at night we built a fire and laid all night near the South Boundary of the 7th Township 3^d raing but ware uncertain whereabouts on the line we ware

Tuesday 7th Discovered This morning that we ware 2 miles West of the S. E. corner of the 7th Township and on McMachans Rivulet The Bottom on this Rivulet is larg and good the Adjacent Hills Steep and very rich in Some places from this on we traveled in a north direction and struck Weelling 5 miles below camp which makes it evident that we were misinformed about Maj^r Hamtramck Situation The land between the Rivulets Is very Hilly and exceeding rich in general wher we struck the Rivulet we met with Some Soldiers who informed us that Capt Hutchens was gone into Weelling upon which we proceded emedately to the River and crosed at Esq^r Zaneses where we found

Capt. Huchens after dinner I left Weelling in company with Capt Huchens to go to Esqr McMachans which is about 16 miles above Weelling went up the river about half a mile where we tarried all night Wednesday 8th 8 o'clock in the morning embarked on board the Cannoe and proceeded up the river on the west Side of the river is a large Bottom extending from the upper end of Wheelling Island near two miles up the river and appears to be $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide At sundown we arrived at the mouth of Buffaloe [Wellsburg, W. Va.] one mile from Esqr McMachans Capt Huchens campd at the river and I went to Esq^r McMachans where I tarried all night

betwene Wheelling and Buffaloe the Bottoms are much larger on the West Side of the river than on East at the mout of Indian Short Creek the Bottom appears to be nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide and extends 3 or 4 miles on the river

This morning was Cloud and likly for rain but at 12 o'clock the Clouds Broke and we had a very pleasant afternoon

Thursday 9th Cloudy and rained the most of the Day

I Went this day from Mr. McMachans to McWilliam Greathouses my old quarters

Friday 10th Cloudy and cold and rained and snowed a little Tarried at Mr. Greathouses and attended a Sermon Delivered by a Methodist Preacher

Saturday 11th Cloud and cold the fore part of the day the after part clear and more moderate This morning I went to M^r Thomas Edgingtons who was The principal ingager with me before I went into the wood for to teach a School and Informed that

that I was ready to begin but I found their fickle Fancys had Started an objection which they had forgot before that was that I could not engage to teach a School for more than five months and they wanted for a year this was a small disappointment for as I depended on Serving them I had not looked any further tho I expected to have earned but a small pittance yet I should have had an opportunity of studying (which I am determined to do however) and cleared myself of expences

From this I went to M^r Harmon Greathouses Father of my good friend M^r W^m Greathous where I found a number of the Neibors Seated in Social Glee round a heap of corn the inspiring Juice of rye had inlivened their Imaginations and given their Tongues such an exact ballance that they moved with the greatest alacrity while relating Scenes of of Boxing Wrestling Hunting &c. at dusk of evening the Corn was finished and the Company retired to the House where many of them took shuch Hearty draughts of the generous liquor as quite deprived them of the use of their limbs Some quarreld some sung and others laughed and the whole display'd a Scene more diverting than edifying at 10 o'clock in the evening all that could walk went home and left three or four round the fire hugging the Whiskey Bottle and arguing very obstanately on Religion at which I left them and went to bed

Sunday 12th Cloud and Cold the whole day at 8 o'clock in the Morning rose from bed and found the neibors who had tary'd all night still with Rap-

tures hugging the Whiskey Bottle and by 11 o'clock others had come in to help drink up the whiskey that was not drank last night about 12 I left them and returned to M^r W^m Greathouses

Monday 13th Cold morning and cloudy faint sun the whole day

Tuesday 14th Clear and pleasant the whole day wind west went to Esq^r McMachand and settled with Maj^r Serjents tarried at Esq^r McMachans and all night

Wednesday 15th Clear and high wind from the west Engaged this morning with M^r Simson¹¹⁵ to return to Esq^r McMachans on the Morrow and help him protract his surveys in the afternoon returned to Mr. Greathouses

.
Wednesday 22^d—Gen^l Tupper left this place for Massachusetts by whome I had the pleasure of sending a number of Letters to my friends

Sunday [Dec.] 3^d—This day Col Sproat and M^r Simson left this for their respective homes Col Sproat for providence Rhode Island and M^r Simson for York County Pennsylvania Since I have been at Esq^r McMachans I have been employed the most of the time in assisting the Surveyors in making out their returns but am now out of business I shall make this my quarters this winter and am determined to pursue my Studies as Industriously as I am Capable of

Tuesday 5th This morning the snow was 18 inches deep which I am informed by the Inhabitants is

¹¹⁵ See note 77.

very remarkable for this season and Is Seldom deeper through the course of the winter

Monday 18th This day I am twenty-one years of age and Free by the Laws of my Country I am Near Six hundred miles from my native home and poor enough the whole pitance that I can call my own does not amount to more than 50 dollars but while I have my health I feal no enxiety about geting a living and hope to support by an honest Industery that Independancy of Spirit and Circumstances which is requisite to Happiness

Monday 25th Clear and cold wind westwardly after Breakfast walked to the river in company with M^r Smith on our return called at Capt Vanswaring-ames where we found a number of Buxom lasses assembled to Spend a merry Christmas we goind in the merrymment and pertook in the pleasures of the Evening

Tuesday 26th a fine day wind westwardly

This morning recev'd a billet from M^r Wheaton who lately left this place for Pittsburgh Informing of an opportunity of teaching a School at Johnsons Mills on Racoon Creek about 20 miles from this on the road to Fort Pitt 10 o'clock in the morning left Esq^r McMachans in order to go and make proposals, went as far as M^r Wellses¹¹⁶ 10 miles from Esq^r McMachans and Spent the night with Col. Shairman Mr. Tupper and M^r McFarling who make this their quarters

Wednesday 27th Clear and pleasant wind westwardly. Went to Johnsons Mills but found little prospect of spending the winter either profitably or

¹¹⁶ Mr. Charles Wells, who gave his name to Charlestown, W. Va. To avoid confusion the name of the town was changed to Wellsburg.

agreeably and did not engage to Teach a School.
returned to M^r Welles in the evening

.

Saturday [Feb.] 3^d [1787]—This Evening I received
a Letter from Maj^r Hamtramck requesting me to
come and take charge of the Commissary at Fort
Stuben¹¹⁷ which is 3 miles above the mouth of Cross
Creek on the W Side of the Ohio

I had the promise of this place before if M^r Wheat-
on a young Gentleman from Rhoad Island who is
now at Pittsburgh did not except of it

Sunday 4th Clear and Severe Cold day went to Fort
Stuben in Company with M^r Ludlow of the Sur-
veyors and engaged to be ready to take charge of
the Stores on Wednesday next—recrossed the
River which is Low and full of Ice and went to
W^m Greathouses where I tarried all night

.

Wednesday 7th—went to Fort Stuben to take charge
of the Stores agreeable to appointment

Fort Stuben Thursday 8th—this morning M^r Peters
delivered the Stores in his charge to me

I am now entering on business which I am unac-
quainted with, but hope use will make it familiar
to me I have to issue provisions to about 100
men have a room to myself and a man to cook for
me

.

Wednesday [April] 4th [1787]—I road about 6 miles
down the Ohio and returned to the garrison in the
evening I observed the Shrubery begining to

¹¹⁷ Steubenville, O.

clothe the ground with verdure and many of the early trees were leaved considerably the young shoots were grown three or four Inches

Sunday 8th—This day I was informed by the Country People that the Peach trees was in full Bloom¹¹⁸

Tuesday 10th—Capt Martin and M^r Ludlow left this for the woods

Thursday 17th—Mr. Smith set out for the woods

Saturday 21st—Mr. Simson left this for the woods

¹¹⁸ The activity of the commissioners and parties sent out to uproot all settlements do not seem to have affected the "country people" in the neighborhood of Fort Steuben.

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